

## SENATE—Tuesday, April 24, 1984

The Senate met at 11 a.m., and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. THURMOND).

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Our prayer this morning will be offered by the Reverend Dr. John William Lancaster, pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Houston, Tex. Dr. Lancaster is sponsored by the Senator from Texas (Mr. BENTSEN).

## PRAYER

The Reverend John William Lancaster, D.D., pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Houston, Tex., offered the following prayer:

O God, our Father, Your servants gather to consider issues and make decisions affecting the lives of millions of people. They face depressing conditions in the world, distortions in our society, conflicts and burdens in their own personal lives. This is all the more reason for seeking divine undergirding and guidance. So, fresh from the celebration of resurrected faith, would we begin our season of prayer on the high note of thanksgiving and praise. We give thanks for people who demonstrate Your love. We offer praise for our great country and gratitude for the lavish gifts which come from You.

May neither the work of Your servants in this room nor the Nation they love and serve become their god. Enable them constantly and consistently to distinguish gift from giver. As receiver of Your gifts, may they be sharers also. This we pray, each in our own way, but many of us in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

## RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The majority leader is recognized.

Mr. BAKER. I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, I think it would be appropriate at this point to yield first to the distinguished junior Senator from Texas, which I now do.

## REV. JOHN W. LANCASTER

Mr. BENTSEN. I thank the distinguished majority leader for his courtesy and kindness.

Mr. President, the Reverend Jack Lancaster has been my pastor at the First Presbyterian Church of Houston for the past 15 years. During that time, he has been more than a spiritual counselor for me and my family; he has been a trusted friend, a source of strength and wisdom and compassion for that large and diverse congregation.

Reverend Lancaster has been at the First Presbyterian Church of Houston since 1961. After defending America in the submarine service during World War II, he attended Austin College and graduated in 1947. He received a B.D. from Union Theological Seminary in 1950 and a D.D. from Austin College in 1960. He has also studied at Princeton Theological Seminary and St. Andrews University in Scotland.

Reverend Lancaster serves on the board of Stillman College in Tuscaloosa, Ala. He is on the board of the Outreach Foundation of the Presbyterian Church and is a member of the advisory board of the Texas Center for Media Awareness.

Mr. President, Reverend Lancaster's academic credentials are impeccable; his record of civic service and involvement is impressive. He has become a leader in the Presbyterian Church.

These are impressive achievements, Mr. President. But those of us who have known Jack Lancaster over the years admire him most for the kindness, comfort, and inspiration he gives so generously to his parishioners.

Many years ago, William Penn said he expected to pass through life but once. He said:

If there is any kindness I can show, or any good thing I can do for any fellow being, let me do it now, and not defer or neglect it, as I shall not pass this way again.

Reverend Lancaster has made a career of doing good things for the people of Houston. Thousands of us are better off for his having passed this way. He is an articulate spokesman for his religion and a powerful force for goodness and justice in our community.

Mr. President, as the U.S. Senate returns from its Easter recess, I am pleased that Jack Lancaster, my friend and pastor, is able to deliver our opening prayer.

I thank the distinguished majority leader for his kindness in allowing me to speak at this time.

Mr. BAKER. I thank the Senator from Texas.

Mr. President, I have always admired the Senator from Texas and acknowledged the great qualities he has. He has today added another to his long list of accomplishments. He is also a Presbyterian. [Laughter.]

Mr. President, I join in welcoming Dr. Lancaster to this pulpit. The Senate of the United States is a remarkable institution, and over the years it has had remarkable clergy who have given us the favor of attending and offering the opening prayer. We appreciate this contribution today.

We are especially grateful that Senator BENTSEN has made that possible, in cooperation with our distinguished Chaplain.

May I say parenthetically, Mr. President, that I come from a small town in Tennessee and a small church which has the distinction and blessing, as most small churches do, of usually having young preachers who are fresh out of the seminary. Not infrequently, when I listen to the first sermon of some of these new ministers, I feel inclined to ask for equal time. It is refreshing, indeed, to have a man who is of my denomination, who stands in this pulpit and utters words of wisdom, and who does not require the application of the equal time doctrine.

Mr. President, I once again thank the Senator from Texas.

## ANSEL ADAMS

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, with the death of Ansel Adams this past weekend, the Nation has lost a special citizen, and the world has lost a master artisan.

He was first and foremost a photographer. In his hands, photography was raised from a craft to an art, and his vivid images of the American landscape have become treasures virtually beyond price.

His affection for the physical world found expression not only in his photography but also in his active personal commitment to conservation.

His photographs are eloquent testimony to the glories of nature, and the combination of his artistry and his personal integrity and credibility made him an extraordinarily effective champion of his special cause.

The Nation mourns his death, but we will celebrate his long life and his brilliant, prolific work for generations to come.

## SENATE SCHEDULE

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I say to the minority leader that I notice in the memorandum I have before me that we have not provided for a 2-hour recess today. I believe the minority does not have a caucus of its members today; however, we do on this side. Unless the minority leader objects, and I would be surprised if he did, I should like to provide the usual 2-hour recess for the Republican Caucus today.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, if the majority leader will yield, the minority leader will be very glad to cooperate with the majority leader in this

matter. If the majority leader wants to recess, we have no problem with that. If the majority leader wants to stay in session, we will guarantee that nothing will happen on our side to interfere with the Republican conference.

The majority leader has always been very considerate in this regard, and we would certainly want to respond in kind.

ORDER FOR RECESS UNTIL 2 P.M.

Mr. BAKER. I thank the minority leader.

Mr. President, since we have done that, I believe, every Tuesday almost without exception—perhaps without exception—I will now ask unanimous consent that at 12 noon today, the Senate stand in recess until 2 p.m.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MATTINGLY). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, it is already provided that there will be a period for the transaction of routine morning business until 12 noon, in which Senators may speak for not more than 5 minutes each, and then the recess just ordered will occur.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

At 2 o'clock, the Senate will resume consideration of the unfinished business, the Federal Boat Safety Act, and the question is on the reported amendment in the nature of a substitute, as amended.

I say for the benefit of everyone present, especially for my friend the minority leader, so that no one is taken by surprise—and I think they will not be, because everyone understands the procedure that is being followed—that it will be my intention at 2 o'clock, after the bill is laid before the Senate, to seek recognition for the purpose of offering a leadership amendment.

I expect that to occur promptly at 2 p.m.

Now Mr. President, I noticed I have a special order today. Do I recall that the special order was to enhance the time of another Senator who had also requested a special order for today? Do I recall that the Senator from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN) indicated at 5 a.m. in the morning when we were finishing our work that he might need more than 15 minutes and I offered to obtain a special order so that it could enhance the time available to him? Is that correct?

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I appreciate the courtesy of the majority leader.

Mr. BAKER. All right.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may yield my special order time to the minority leader, and I think it would be more appropriate to be transacted in that way.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, the majority leader is thoughtful as always, and I thank him.

May I ask the majority leader, is this the time? May I intrude at this point to ask some questions about the program?

Mr. BAKER. By all means.

Mr. BYRD. I am interested if the majority leader can state at this point what his modus operandi will be with reference to the measure that we will continue to debate and act on.

Mr. BAKER. Yes.

Mr. BYRD. Does he plan to offer the reconciliation measure that is on the calendar as an amendment first or will it go with the medicare amendment, or will it go with the appropriations cap? If he does not mind and can so state at this point, would he lay out his program in this regard?

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, the leadership amendment which will be offered will include the appropriations caps.

If the Senator will permit me, I will get a more thorough description of the amendment. Indeed, I will give the Senator a copy of the amendment.

I have shown the amendment to the Parliamentarian, and it is an amendment which if adopted, in the view of the Parliamentarian, would convert this bill into a reconciliation bill, but it is the budget package beyond that which had already been dealt with from the Finance Committee and does include the appropriations caps. Whether it includes the medicare provision or not I will have to examine and see.

Mr. BYRD. I would be interested in discussing with the majority leader the possible development of a time agreement on this measure, hopefully, rather than going the route of using the reconciliation measure which is on the calendar, which now has been reduced to a shell by virtue of the fact that the Senate has already adopted most, if not all, of the contents of that legislation.

I am very concerned about using the reconciliation measure as an amendment and then ipso facto, once that becomes adopted, it converts the Federal Boat Safety Act of 1971, as amended, into a reconciliation measure with all of the time strictures and germaneness strictures that are involved.

I should hope we would not have to go that way, and I feel that we probably could arrive at a time agreement that would accommodate the majority leader in all respects without having to resort to this very drastic action, as I see it, which has not been outlined, but which is certainly implied and quite obvious.

If I may impose upon the majority leader just a moment longer, I am concerned that there may have been in the past some peripheral action, very

minor in comparison, in which this process may have been followed. I am concerned, however, about moving on so large a scale in this direction. I think it could have far-reaching implications for the appropriations process. It could have far-reaching implications for the authorizations process and the committees that are therein involved. I would say that the party which is in the minority now, at some time in the future will be in the majority, and the majority party of today will at that same time be in the minority, and if the minority is subjected to this approach now, there will come a time when the current majority party will likewise be exposed to the same procedure.

So I am hoping that the majority leader would be willing to explore the possibility of a time agreement that would achieve his goal and at the same time would spare us of this other approach which I view with considerable concern.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I thank the minority leader, and I am encouraged by the remarks of the minority leader to think that we might be able to work out time agreements. Indeed, I would be more than happy to sit down and try to do that.

I think we can accomplish my purpose and his at the same time. I think that since the form in which the leadership on this side would propose to offer this amendment is amendable, and in consultation with the Parliamentarian, I believe that it would be amendable, of course in one degree, and there are at least two other opportunities for amendment, there is ample opportunity for Members on both sides of the aisle to offer amendments, to offer total substitutes, to offer amendments to strike, a whole range of things that would not be affected by the reconciliation restraints at all, and to fully work the will of the Senate on both sides of the aisle before we get to the final step. The final step, however, would be to adopt an amendment which would in fact have the force and effect of reconciliation.

As the minority leader perhaps already knows, the reason for it on this side is that an essential element of the package that was put together on this side was to assure that the outyear levels were not mere statements of good intention but rather were embedded in the law by reconciliation. I am speaking primarily of the appropriations caps for the outyears.

Now that is something that I feel is necessary on this side to keep the matter held together, but I have no desire whatever to use reconciliation, nor will I try to limit the opportunity of any Senator on either side of the aisle to amend this bill, to offer substitutes for this bill, to strike and insert,



if that is permissible under the rules, or to strike altogether, and I will be most pleased to sit down with the minority leader and see if we cannot arrive at time agreements and the identification of the steps that will be taken on both sides of the aisle and to arrange the deliberation of the Senate on this amendment and on this bill, as amended, so that we have full freedom to act without any restraints, without any limitation from the reconciliation bill until after everyone has had his turn at bat.

But, after we have exhausted that process, then it would be the intention of the leadership on this side to proceed to try to convert then our work product, as perfected, as amended, if it is amended and it is dealt with, into a reconciliation posture in order to preserve the provisions of the act in the out years rather than the simple objective, as is the case in the budget resolution, for instance.

I will explore that further with the minority leader. Let me leave this subject by saying that I am anxious to explore time limitations and agreements. I am anxious to see that every Senator has an opportunity to proceed free of any impediment at all, other than perhaps the impediment of rule XXII, cloture, perhaps, and to cooperate in every way with the minority leader to see that that occurs.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, what the distinguished majority leader says relieves my concern only in part. I am not concerned about cloture. That is in the regular order of procedure. But I am concerned about converting an underlying bill into a reconciliation measure by the mere attachment of a reconciliation amendment. And this bothers me greatly.

The fact that all Senators will have an opportunity to amend or strike out and insert, and all that, is not so helpful at this point. If we had 51 votes on this side, that would be enough to relieve me, but that is not the case.

We do not have 51 votes on this side. The cloture aspect does not bother me so much, as of now—maybe it will trouble me more later when it manifests itself. My concern is simply that of attaching an amendment—which is now a reconciliation bill on the calendar—to the basic underlying measure and by that action resort to the fiction of converting that underlying measure into a reconciliation bill with all of its time and germaneness strictures.

I realize there has been an instance in the past when cloture was applied to a committee substitute and automatically the basic bill was likewise clotured. But this approach seems to me to be quite a leap, in using that precedent as analogous to what I see we may be about to do here.

I am willing, as I say, to sit down with the majority leader and attempt to work out some other procedure

whereby he can achieve, hopefully, his goal.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I am sure my time has expired. I ask unanimous consent that the minority leader and I may proceed as necessary for another 5 minutes.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, do I have any time remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the minority leader remains and the majority leader's time has expired.

Mr. BYRD. I yield to the majority leader.

Mr. BAKER. It will not take but a moment, Mr. President.

But I would say, Mr. President, I started to say in my own defense, but I do not feel any defense is necessary—that the original plan which I stated in public and on the floor and discussed with the minority leader was to call up the reconciliation bill which is on the calendar and which has only 14 hours, I believe, remaining for debate, and then to offer an amendment to that reconciliation bill which would be the leadership amendment that I am now about to offer or will offer at 2 o'clock.

In that case, many of the concerns expressed by the minority leader would, indeed, be genuine and real concerns—they are all genuine—but they would be real and serious concerns. And, indeed, they are so serious that the minority leader, among others, convinced me that was not a good way to proceed; that we were establishing a precedent there which is perfectly within the rules and the statute but a precedent, nonetheless, for dealing with a major piece of legislation on a very, very limited time basis and subject to very stringent requirements for germaneness.

For instance, on the amendment itself, there would be 2 hours of debate. On the bill itself, there would be 14 hours of debate and germaneness would apply and substitutes probably would not be eligible because of germaneness.

So early on in these discussions and conversations, the leadership on this side decided that that original idea, while entirely practical and within the rules, was not the best way to proceed. And the minority leader should have the credit or the blame, as the case may be, for convincing me that that was not a good way to proceed.

But I agreed with that and, instead, modified the procedure so that we chose the boat bill, the revenue measure on the calendar, instead of calling up the reconciliation bill and offered the Finance Committee package, which was subject to unlimited debate. For a while I thought indeed it was going to go on forever. We were in until 11 o'clock one night, 9 o'clock, as I recall, on another night, and until 5 in the morning on another occasion

before we finally finished that package. But we did.

Now, we are in phase II and we are going to offer the appropriation caps, we are going to offer other matters that are in the leadership package, and, if it is adopted, the bill will become reconciliation, I believe the Chair will rule.

But, until that moment, the Senate is free to act completely unfettered by any time restraints, except as rule XXII might provide, or any germaneness requirements at all. So we have come a long way.

The only reason for this statement is to point out that I take seriously the concerns expressed by the minority leader. I share them and have attempted, in devising that strategy, to meet them while still maintaining the objective of keeping this package together, especially the appropriation caps, beyond the current year and into the out years so that everyone here and in the country can be assured that the Congress is not merely stating good intentions by enacting statute law.

Now, Mr. President, I hope that works satisfactorily. I will not prolong the matter. The minority leader and I have discussed this a number of times and he is fully aware of the design of this procedure.

I have done perhaps an unprecedented thing by providing the minority leader in advance detailed descriptions of how I intend to proceed. I hope that we can further elaborate on this arrangement so that we can arrive at time agreements on amendments, perhaps the identification of amendments to be offered, and perhaps even a time for final disposition of the amendment itself. I suppose that may be too much to hope for at this point, but I am bold and brazen enough to suggest that we try.

I apologize to Members for extending these remarks perhaps further than I should have.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, the majority leader does not owe an apology to anyone. The Members, certainly on this side of the aisle, appreciate his frankness in laying out the future procedure as he sees it.

Beyond that, I say that, as to the appropriations caps, this is also somewhat revolutionary as it will be embraced in this particular package. There is considerable concern—and should be—on this side of the aisle, and should be on both sides, about using the approach with reference to both the reconciliation amendment, which is the bill on the calendar, and also imposing the appropriations caps. That will suffice for now with respect to what I said in the hope that we might be able to work with the majority leader in devising some approach perhaps a little short of

what he hopes for. But he presumably has the votes, and probably can achieve his goal in the long run.

Mr. President, I yield my remaining time to Mr. LEVIN.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, will the majority leader yield to consider a possible accommodation to this Senator on the schedule?

Mr. BAKER. I yield.

#### REFORM OF DISABILITY DETERMINATION PROCESS

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I understand that sometime before morning business is over the Senator would require that we proceed with House bill 3755, and that second reading take place of that bill because it has been held at the desk. Would it be possible to do that now so that I could in turn object to further proceeding on the bill, and it could be placed on the calendar?

Mr. BAKER. I thank the Senator.

If the minority leader is agreeable, I am perfectly agreeable to the procedure.

Mr. BYRD. Yes. We have no problem.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask that the Chair proceed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will read the bill the second time.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 3755) to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide for reform in the disability determination process.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I object to further proceeding on this bill.

I thank the majority leader for accommodating me, and also the minority leader for his advice on this matter.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under rule XIV, paragraph 4, and the Senate's precedents, objection having been heard to further proceedings on this bill, after its second reading, the bill will be placed on the calendar.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I request that the Chair put the majority leader's request—because otherwise under rule XIV I do not think it would have been appropriate—at this particular point in today's business. I think the majority leader made the request.

Mr. BAKER. I made the request.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that that be done at this point rather than at the close of morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The minority leader is correct.

Mr. BYRD. I thank the Chair.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, does the record reflect that the request was made, and granted, that it be in order at this point to proceed in the manner in which the Senator from Michigan did proceed?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader is correct.

Mr. BAKER. I thank the Chair.

#### ORDER FOR RECESS FROM 12:30 P.M. UNTIL 2 P.M.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I am using more time than I had planned. We have three special orders plus morning business. If the minority leader does not object, I ask unanimous consent that the recess begin at 12:30 p.m. instead of 12 o'clock and extend until 2 p.m. as previously ordered, and that the time for morning business will begin at the expiration of the special order of times under the terms and conditions.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I thank the Chair.

I thank the minority leader, and I especially thank the Senator from Wisconsin and the Senator from Michigan for forbearing to claim their time so that this colloquy could occur.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from Wisconsin is recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes.

#### ARE THE SOVIETS REALLY RACING AHEAD IN NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL ARMS RACE?

Mr. PROXMIER. Mr. President, what happens every April besides showers, springtime, daffodils, green grass, and the opening of the baseball season? Answer: The Pentagon tells us that the Russians are coming right on cue on April 10. This year, Secretary Caspar Weinberger issued the Defense Department report which charges that the Soviets enjoy a big quantitative advantage over the United States in several aspects of all three of the major areas of procurement: strategic nuclear weapons, conventional weapons, and biological and chemical warfare.

Mr. President, it just happens that this "Russians are coming" Pentagon report appears at precisely the time the Armed Services Committee is preparing to come to the floor of the Senate with the Pentagon wish list for weapons. What a coincidence! How remarkable that every year this same coincidence recurs. The Pentagon tells us the Russians are amassing a colossal military arsenal. They tell us this just a few days before the Senate will act on the Pentagon's wish list. In the past, as the year goes on we find that the Russians are not 10 feet tall. And this year there is a particular reason to take a long, skeptical look as the Pentagon cries "Wolf!"

Here is why: Buried deep in the report is the admission that the Soviets have not significantly increased their rate of procurement spending since the mid-seventies. The Pentagon claims that the Russian military procurement simply leveled off at a higher rate than U.S. military pro-

curement. Mr. President, this admission—that the Soviet Union has not increased the rate of their military procurement buildup for nearly 10 years—is the most important disclosure in this year's Pentagon report. Last year, the CIA told a subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee the same thing.

The myth of Russians 10 feet tall has been fabricated around the thesis that the Soviet Union was making extraordinary efforts to pour ever-greater resources into military procurement. The intelligence community believed that the Russians had been pushing 13 to 14 percent of their gross national product into the military, and that in the decade of the seventies they accelerated that to 14 to 16 percent. Many U.S. intelligence forecasts contended that if Soviet defense spending continued to grow at the historical rate, their military burden could increase to 20 percent by the end of the 1980's. In fact, the CIA estimates show an overall increase in military spending between 1976 and 1981 of only 2 percent in real terms, which is less than the growth of the Soviet GNP, and no increase in Soviet military procurement whatsoever. In fact, there has been a slowdown in the production of missiles, aircraft, surface ships, submarines, tanks, and many other categories. Just as in U.S. military procurement, there have been advances in military technology which have increased the unit cost of production. But the CIA has concluded that unit cost increases have not totally offset the reduced quantities in cost.

Mr. President, this Senator would not minimize the size or cost or military power of the Soviet buildup. The Soviets are, indeed, building a large number of weapons. In some areas, such as tanks, their numbers substantially exceed ours. But the impression that the Secretary of Defense gives of a relentless year-by-year growth of Soviet military power is hardly borne out by the facts. How relentless is a buildup that actually slowed in overall military spending in the latter half of the seventies from about 4 percent to 2 percent? How relentless is a buildup of military procurement that apparently did not grow at all since 1976?

The fascinating question on the Soviet Union military forces is not why the buildup, but why the slowdown? Was it because of industrial and agricultural bottlenecks in the civilian economy that spilled over to the defense industries? Were there Russian problems in assimilating new technology? Were there policy decisions such as compliance with SALT I and SALT II agreements? In the past, the Defense Department has emphasized the growth of Soviet military spending. They have often exaggerated that growth. But they have had a case of



sorts. Now the Soviet Union has slowed its overall military growth and actually brought its growth in military procurement to a halt.

We have discovered this at a time when we have been sharply increasing our own rate of military spending. And the alibi for that U.S. increase has always been to match the Soviet Union's growth. No Senator I know of—certainly not this Senator—has proposed that we match the Russians by cutting our military growth down to 2 percent or stop the rate of growth in real terms for our procurement.

Indeed, Congress will certainly increase our overall military spending allowing fully for inflation by at least 5 percent this year, and our military procurement by a great deal more. Indeed, the President's fiscal year 1985 request for procurement in that budget is a record \$107.6 billion, a smashing 25-percent increase—25 percent, Mr. President—in budget authority over 1984. The President has since agreed to a lesser increase and Congress may narrow the increase in military procurement outlays to 15 or even 10 percent. But since Congress has shown no disposition to back away from any of the immensely expensive new weapons systems the President has called for, any reduction in the rate of procurement increase is likely to be a temporary deferment requiring even greater outlays in coming years.

What does all this do to the Weinberger thesis that the Russians are speeding up the arms race? The CIA tells us that for nearly 10 years, Russian procurement has been flat, with no increase in the real rate of spending. Meanwhile, our own military spending moves relentlessly and sharply ahead.

#### THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

Mr. PROXMIER. Mr. President, today is the 69th anniversary of Armenian Martyrs Day, a day on which we honor the memory of 1.5 million Armenians massacred between 1915-23 by the Ottoman Empire.

The Armenian genocide is often considered the "forgotten genocide" of the 20th century. Unlike the Nazi persecution of the Jews, this tragic event is little known and seldom recognized.

Had the world taken ample note of this terrible crime and held those responsible for this horror accountable, it is very possible that the Holocaust of World War II could have been avoided. In fact, as Hitler was planning the extermination of the Jews, he asked rhetorically, "Who remembers the Armenians?" Hitler, unfortunately, was right.

In this age of mass communication, it is difficult to understand how the world could have taken so little notice of a crime of this magnitude.

The pattern of their persecution dates back to 1894, when, in a 2-year period, 200,000 Armenians were massacred under the reign of Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II. Later, in 1909, 21,000 Cilician Armenians were massacred. Finally, in the first genocide of the 20th century, the Turks killed 1.5 million Armenians and exiled another 500,000 from their homes. Despite the protests of numerous diplomatic observers, the nations of the world were not moved to action and many failed to even take notice of this tragedy.

The pattern of ignorance continues even today. Just 2 years ago, the State Department's official bulletin noted that the Department of State found the historical record ambiguous and, therefore, took no official position on the events surrounding this "allegation" of genocide.

At that time, many of my colleagues and I protested this historical revisionism on the part of the State Department. The documentation of the Armenian genocide is clear and irrefutable. It is an historical fact, and we cannot conveniently overlook it for diplomatic expediency.

Such efforts to rewrite history are an insult to both justice and memory.

Mr. President, that is why it is important that the Senate take notice of Armenian Martyrs Day. Today we affirm the reality of the Armenian genocide as a historical fact and we use it as an opportunity to educate another generation of the ultimate horror of which man can be capable. And we rededicate ourselves to insure that such tragedies will never occur again.

But this rededication must not be a mere idle pledge. It must be an affirmative, active step.

We have the means at our disposal. The Genocide Convention is still pending before the Senate awaiting our advice and consent.

Ratification of this treaty would be the highest tribute we could give to the memory of the Armenian martyrs. The Genocide Convention would clearly affirm our commitment for the right of all national, ethnic, racial, and religious groups to live free from fear of destruction. It would firmly establish in international law the principle that criminals who even attempt such crimes will be firmly punished.

What better step could we take in honor of these martyrs than such a decisive step?

Mr. President, I urge my colleagues to join me in honoring these martyrs by seeking Senate ratification of the Genocide Convention.

Mr. President, I am happy to yield the remainder of my time to the distinguished Senator from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN).

#### RECOGNITION OF SENATOR LEVIN

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from Michigan is recognized.

#### 69TH ANNIVERSARY OF ARMENIAN MARTYRS DAY

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I thank my friend, the Senator from Wisconsin, for his constancy in the cause of obliterating genocide from the face of the Earth.

Every April 24, Armenians all over the world take pause to honor the memory of the 1.5 million Armenians massacred between 1915-23 by the Turkish Ottoman Empire, a tragic event which is recorded by eyewitness accounts in historical archives throughout the world.

This historical record documents the crime perpetrated against the Armenian nation and people by the Turkish Ottoman Government as the first genocide of the 20th century. Whosoever denies it must not be allowed to succeed in rewriting history. The historical archives reveal eyewitness accounts of survivors, journalists, government officials and missionaries of many nations—eyewitness accounts which shocked all civilized mankind.

But, regrettably it was soon forgotten, not by the surviving Armenians, but by most of the rest of the world. So that when Adolf Hitler planned his invasion of Poland and the destruction of Jewish people, he was able to scornfully state, "Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians (?)."

This day serves as a tragic reminder that the first genocide of the 20th century became the precedent for the Holocaust of World War II. The line from Armenia to Auschwitz is a direct one.

Mr. President, when one compares to two genocides, the similarities are startling:

The Turks set the stage for the genocide by calling Armenians a suspect people sympathetic to the Western powers of World War I. Later, the Nazis increasingly depicted the Jewish people as enemies of the Third Reich, which, too, set the stage for the Holocaust.

The Turks used the cover of a world war to deport and annihilate the Armenian people. The Nazis used the chaos of World War II to deport the Jewish people to concentration camps outside of Germany, where they were later murdered.

The Turks tried to conceal the Armenian genocide from their own citizens and the world, as they still do today. The Nazis did, as well.

If the Armenians of 1915 had been remembered, if the perpetrators of their genocide were punished by a

world tribunal, and if international laws had been enacted preventing the heinous crime of genocide, 6 million Jews might not have perished at the hands of the Nazis.

The world did not learn a lesson from the Armenian genocide. By commemorating the memory of these victims, we can try once again to prevent history from repeating itself. Such tragedies can only be prevented in the future if they are remembered. This is the legacy our ancestors left to the surviving generations—a legacy which we pay tribute to today. It is a legacy which also was recently honored in a joint commemoration of the Armenian genocide and the Jewish Holocaust by the Armenian Club and B'Nai Israel Club of Central Michigan University.

The students at Central Michigan University realized that this legacy represents a challenge—a challenge not to back down from efforts of the Turkish Government to rewrite history; a challenge not to back down from continued and unacceptable blunders from our own State Department, which said in the August 1982 issue of its official magazine, the *Bulletin*:

Because the historical record of the 1915 events in Asia minor is ambiguous, the Department of State does not endorse allegations that the Turkish Government committed a genocide against the Armenian people.

That was an unbelievable and outrageous denial of decades of U.S. policy which infuriated me and others in Congress, as it did the Armenian community and those students of history who know the difference between fact and fiction. The State Department, 8 long months later, finally retracted the statement by writing:

The article . . . which appeared in the August 1982 issue of the *Bulletin* . . . (was) not intended as statements of policy of the United States. Nor did they represent any change in U.S. policy.

That clarification of course, should not have been necessary to make in the first place. But it now seems another clarification, unfortunately is needed. It is needed, I am saddened to say, because of an incident that I have learned of after returning from the spring recess.

On April 11, House Joint Resolution 247, a measure which would have created a "National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man" by designating April 24, 1984—today—as a day to honor all victims of genocide, especially those 1.5 million Armenian genocide victims of the Turkish Ottoman Empire, was brought to the House floor for consideration. But it was objected to by one Member and set aside, as required under the rule of unanimous consent. Congressman TONY COELHO of California, the main sponsor of the resolution which had 228 cosponsors, spoke as follows in the House the next day:

One lone voice opposed this measure. But I wanted to let it be known that there was a stronger voice which opposed this resolution—the State Department. . . . Mr. Lewis Murray of the European Affairs Desk at the State Department phoned my office to express the State Department's dissatisfaction with the resolution. He not only expressed the State Department's dissatisfaction, but he went as far as to say that the resolution was irresponsible and that it would have a negative impact if passed. He alleged that, if passed, this resolution would:

First, encourage terrorism, and second, muck up relations with the Turkish Government. But perhaps his greatest effort in his argument to dissuade me from having the resolution brought to the floor was adding that the Armenian genocide has never been documented.

Mr. President, enough is enough. It pains me to even have to address these ignorant charges which were made by a State Department official who is seemingly oblivious of the historical record and previous policy statements of the United States. Let no one misunderstand our meaning or the meaning of today's commemoration.

The struggle which has manifested itself in the American political process is a struggle which must be fought solely in the political arena. The refusal of the Turkish Government, and now, again, by a State Department refusal to acknowledge the Ottoman Empire's role in the Armenian genocide, as the New York Times has written:

In no way justifies a minuscule group of Armenian terrorists, who in a decade have killed 26 Turkish diplomats. But it surely justifies using the memorial day, as less vengeful Armenians ask with increasing urgency, to call for an accounting of a dark and unpunished crime.

As for "mucking up relations with the Turkish Government," it is time for us to insist that Turkey fully observe the fundamental freedoms of its people and link our foreign assistance to an improved Turkish record on human rights.

Mr. President, in order to help respond to the State Department's representative's unbelievable claim that the Armenian genocide has never been documented, I ask unanimous consent that the following factsheets and newspaper articles, which were provided to me by the Armenian Assembly, a national nonprofit organization representing the Armenian-American community, be printed in the *RECORD* at this point.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the *RECORD*, as follows:

#### FACTSHEET: THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Armenian population of the Ottoman (Turkish) Empire became the target of heightened persecution by the Ottoman government. These persecutions culminated in a three decade period during which the Armenians were systematically uprooted from their homeland of 3,000

years and eliminated through massacres of exile.

#### THE PATTERN OF PERSECUTION: 1894-1924

1894-1896: 200,000 Armenians massacred during the reign of the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II.

1909: 21,000 Armenians massacred in Cilicia.

1915-1923: 1,500,000 Armenians perished, and more than 500,000 were exiled from their homes in the Ottoman Empire.

At the beginning of World War I, there were some 2,500,000 Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire. Since the Armenian Genocide, fewer than 100,000 declared Armenians reside in Turkey. Armenian citizens of Russia were also subject to massacre during the Turkish invasions of 1918 and 1920.

#### MOBILIZATION FOR WORLD WAR I SETS THE STAGE FOR GENOCIDE

1. On August 2, 1914, general mobilization of the Turkish army was declared. Like their fellow Turkish citizens, all able-bodied Armenian men, with few exceptions, were called up for military service. Beginning in February, 1915, the Armenians in the armed forces were segregated into labor battalions, disarmed, and ultimately worked to death or massacred.

2. Also in August, 1914, the Young Turk government began to release murderers and other confirmed criminals from prisons throughout Asia Minor and placed them in the Special Organization (Teshkileti Mahsusa) for the express purpose of ending the "Armenian Question" by annihilating the Armenians. Whole villages were massacred outright in the fall and winter of 1914 in the eastern provinces.

3. In February, 1915, the Turkish government disarmed the Armenian mountaineers of Zeitun, near Marash, and deported the population to the Salt Desert near Konia, or to the Syrian desert. Packed into boxcars, or forced to walk often without food or water for days, they quickly perished. Deportations and massacres soon became the plight of Armenians in other areas.

4. On April 24, 1915, about 200 Armenian religious, political, and intellectual leaders were arrested in Constantinople (Istanbul) exiled, or taken to the interior and murdered. Similar measures were executed throughout the empire in all Armenian centers.

5. The Edict of Deportation was formally promulgated on May 27, 1915. Soon afterwards, Armenians throughout the Ottoman Empire were deported on short notice. Men were usually separated from the group and massacred. The remaining women, children, and elderly were marched across Asia Minor and Turkish Armenia to the Syrian desert, constantly attacked by brigands and the Special Organization "guards" who were ostensibly to offer protection. Thousands were kidnapped. Most of the deportees were massacred or died of starvation, disease, or exposure.

6. Approximately 500,000 Armenian refugees escaped to the north across the Russian border, south into Arab countries, or to Europe and the United States. Thus, the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire were virtually eliminated from their ancestral homeland as a result of a carefully executed government plan of genocide.

7. Armenians who did return from exile to their homes following World War I found conditions uncertain, despite assurances by the Allies that their lives and property would be secure. With the rise of Mustapha



Kemal (Ataturk) beginning in 1919, the Armenians again were subjected to waves of massacres. Those who survived either fled or were expelled by the Kremalist regime in 1922-25.

#### FACTSHEET: U.S. RECOGNITION OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Armenian population of the Ottoman (Turkish) Empire became the target of heightened persecution by the Ottoman government. These persecutions culminated in a three-decade period during which the Armenians were systematically uprooted from their homeland of 3,000 years and eliminated through massacres or exile.

The United States Archives are replete with material documenting the premeditated extermination of the Armenian people, as well as American interventions to prevent the full realization of Turkey's genocidal plan and humanitarian assistance for those who survived. The U.S. Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Henry Morgenthau, acting on instructions from Secretaries of State William Jennings Bryan and Robert Lansing, organized and led protests by all nations, among them Turkey's allies, over what Ambassador Morgenthau referred to as Turkey's program of "race extermination." The archives also demonstrate that the American people, through an organization known as Near East Relief chartered by an act of Congress, contributed some \$113 million between 1915 and 1930 to aid the Armenian Genocide survivors. In addition, 132,000 orphans became foster children of the American people and owe their lives to this effort.

#### U.S. REAFFIRMATION—A PARTIAL CHRONOLOGY

July 16, 1915—Telegram from U.S. Ambassador Henry Morgenthau to the Secretary of State:

"Deportation of and excesses against peaceful Armenians is increasing and from harrowing reports of eye witnesses it appears that a campaign of race extermination is in progress under a pretext of reprisal against rebellion."

May 13, 1920—Senate Resolution 359:

"... the testimony adduced at the hearings conducted by the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations have clearly established the truth of the reported massacres and other atrocities from which the Armenian people have suffered."

April 8, 1975—House Joint Resolution 148: "Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that April 24, 1975, is hereby designated as 'National Day of Remembrance of Man's Inhumanity to Man', and the President of the United States is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to observe such day as a day of remembrance for all the victims of genocide, especially those of Armenian ancestry who succumbed to the genocide perpetrated in 1915, and in whose memory this date is commemorated by all Armenians and their friends throughout the world."

May 11, 1976—Hearing, U.S. House of Representatives Committee on International Relations Subcommittee on Future Foreign Policy Research and Development Investigation Into Certain Past Instances of Genocide and Exploration of Policy Options for the Future, Opening Statement by Chairman Lester Wolff:

"We have before us a panel of distinguished guests who will provide us with a

wealth of information on the first genocidal tragedy of the 20th century, that which befell the Armenian people in the years 1910-20 when 1.5 million people were killed or driven from their homes and left to die. Our purpose in this is twofold. We shall examine this tragedy as part of the broader problem of genocide and also to determine whether the repercussions of the tragedy are still being felt today."

May 16, 1978—Speech by former President Jimmy Carter at the White House:

"... it's generally not known in the world that in the years preceding 1916, there was a concerted effort made to eliminate all the Armenian people, probably one of the greatest tragedies that ever befell any group. And there weren't any Nuremberg trials."

April 24, 1980—Speech by U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council Director Monroe Freedman:

"Today we recall in sorrow the million and one-half Armenians who were tortured, starved, and butchered to death in the First Genocide of the Twentieth Century."

April 22, 1981—Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust Proclamation 4838, by President Ronald Reagan:

"Like the genocide of the Armenians before it, and the genocide of the Cambodians which followed it—and like too many other such persecutions of too many other peoples—the lessons of the Holocaust must never be forgotten."

April 30, 1981—Days of Remembrance Commemoration, Capitol Rotunda Speech by U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council Chairman Elie Wiesel:

"Before the planning of the final solution, Hitler asked, 'Who remembers the Armenians?' He was right. No one remembered them, as no one remembered the Jews. Rejected by everyone, they felt expelled from history."

March 1983—U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council booklet entitled Armenian Genocide Commemorative Fund:

"The 1915-23 genocide of the Armenian citizens of the Ottoman Turkish Empire will have a place of prominence in the Holocaust Museum. Approval by the Holocaust Council was unanimous."

[An editorial from the New York Times, Apr. 23, 1983]

#### ARMENIAN MEMORY, TURKISH AMNESIA

The saddest date on the Armenian calendar is April 24, when a scattered people remembers a catastrophe most of us have forgotten. It happened in 1915, when a large and thriving Armenian community in Turkey became the object of the century's first official genocide.

It was a gruesome campaign, resulting in the death or deportation of perhaps 1.5 million of 2.3 million Turkish Armenians. Yet the perpetrators faced no judicial inquiry, no ministers resigned in disgrace and subsequent Turkish Governments have declined even to acknowledge what happened.

This amnesia in no way justifies a minuscule group of Armenian terrorists, who in a decade have killed 26 Turkish diplomats. But it surely justifies using the memorial day, as less vengeful Armenians ask with increasing urgency, to call for an accounting of a dark and unpunished crime.

A stateless people, Armenians were vulnerably located on both sides of the Eastern Front when World War I pitted Germany and the Ottoman Empire against Czarist Russia, Britain and France. Islamic Turkey looked on Christian Armenians as collective-

ly suspect—even, according to one theorist, an "alien impurity."

"Alas, those who were innocent today might be guilty tomorrow," explained Turkey's Interior Minister, who ordered the deportation of entire communities and condoned plunder and murder by Turkish troops, beginning in April 1915.

The killings appalled German diplomats, who had no motive for exaggeration. Their dismay was shared by the American envoy, Henry Morgenthau Sr., who fed eyewitness accounts to foreign journalists. The weight of the evidence makes credible an Ottoman document, dated Sept. 16, 1915, asserting that the regime's purpose was "to destroy completely all the Armenians living in Turkey."

As shocking as what happened was what didn't. Much of the world protested, but with little effect and with numbed incredulity. An account of a ferocious killing on the shores of Lake Van prompted this meditation in *The New Republic*: "Humanity refuses to think that a civilized nation was even fractionally responsible for such desolation."

In that refusal, Franz Werfel foresaw other horrors. His powerful novel, "The Forty Days of Musa Dagh," describes a meeting between Turkey's Defense Minister, Enver Pasha, and a German pastor. Suppose Germany had enemies in its midst, said Enver, "shall we say, Poles or Social Democrats or Jews. . . . Would you consider it so cruel if, for the sake of victory, all dangerous elements in the population were simply herded together and sent packing into distant, uninhabited territory? . . . There can be no peace between human beings and plague germs."

Werfel, a Czech-German Jew, was writing in 1933. He later fled Germany, and died in America in 1945, when what began in Anatolia had produced Auschwitz.

KARL E. MEYER.

[The following articles were published in the New York Times from Mar. 20, 1915 to June 1, 1919]

#### WHOLE PLAIN STREWN BY ARMENIAN BODIES

LONDON, March 19.—Appalling accounts of conditions in Armenia have reached the officials in London of the Armenian Red Cross Fund and have been given out by them.

The latest recital is from an Armenian doctor named Dardarian, who says that the whole plain of Alashgerd is virtually covered with the bodies of men, women, and children.

When the Russian forces retreated from this district the Kurds fell upon the helpless people and shut them up in mosques. The men were killed and the women were carried away to the mountains.

The organisers of the Red Cross Fund say there are 130,000 destitute Armenians now in the Caucasus.

PETROGRAD, March 19.—A telegram from Urumish, Northwestern Persia, says that prior to the evacuation of towns between Jufia and Tabriz the "Turks and Kurds, who were retreating before the Russian advance, pillaged and burned the villages and put to death some of the inhabitants."

At Salmas, Pagaduk, and Sarna orders are said to have been given by the Turkish Commissioner for the destruction of the towns.

All the Armenian inhabitants of Antvat were collected and, according to this mes-

sage, 600 males were put to death, and the women, after being compelled to embrace the Mohammedan faith, were divided into parties and sent to various interior towns.

#### APPEAL TO TURKEY TO STOP MASSACRES

WASHINGTON, April 27.—An appeal for relief of Armenian Christians in Turkey, following reported massacres and threatened further outrages, was made to the Turkish Government today by the United States.

Acting upon the request of the Russian Government, submitted through Ambassador Bakhmeteff, Secretary Bryan cabled to Ambassador Morgenthau at Constantinople to make representations to the Turkish authorities asking that steps be taken for the protection of imperiled Armenians and to prevent the recurrence of religious outbreaks.

Ambassador Bakhmeteff called at the State Department late today with a dispatch from his Government, which included an appeal to the President of the United States for aid, forwarded through the Russian Government from the Catholics of the Armenian Church at Etchmiadzin in the Caucasus.

"The request from the head of the Armenian Church to this Government, forwarded through the Russian Ambassador," said Secretary Bryan, "is the first official notice the department has received of the reported Armenian massacres. Our action was taken as a matter of humanity."

The Russian Embassy today gave out a translation of a recent speech by the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Duma, in which the presence of Russian troops in Persia was explained. The Foreign Minister said:

"The presence of our troops in Persian territory by no means involves a violation of Persian neutrality. Our detachments were sent to that country some years ago for the definite purpose of establishing and maintaining order in districts contiguous to our possessions of high economic importance to us also to prevent the seizure of some of these districts by the Turks, who openly strove to create for themselves there especially in the district of Urumiah a convenient base for military operations against the Caucasus." The Persian Government not having the actual power to maintain its neutrality met the Turkish violation of the latter with protests, which, however, had no results.

#### MORE ARMENIAN MASSACRES

TELIS, TRANSCAUCASIA (via Petrograd and London), June 5.—After the occupation by the Russians of Van Turkin Armenia, bands of Kurds continued to commit atrocities in the district of Bitlis, Moush and Diarbekr, Armenian volunteers in increasing numbers are fighting desperately to protect the Christian population from the Kurds. Inhabitants of Diarbekr, following the example of the Armenians in Van, have organized armed bands.

The population of Urumiah, in Persia, Armenia, greeted the Russians with enthusiasm. Food for the refugees in the American missions was brought by the Russians. The consulates at Urumian and Van have suffered little in the fighting which has been going on during the last few months.

The successes of the Russians in these districts are creating dissatisfaction among the Persians and Arabians. Disorders are developing.

The concentration by the Turks of military efforts on the Dardanelles has caused a shortage of arms and ammunition for their

troops in the Caucasus. A portion of the artillery has been removed from the Turkish forts at Erzerum, the principal city of Turkish Armenia.

#### WHOLESALE MASSACRES OF ARMENIANS BY TURKS

LONDON, July 28.—The Earl of Crewe, Lord President of the Council, replying in the House of Lords today to a question by Viscount Bryce, concerning the killing of Christians in Armenia by the Turks, said the information received at the Foreign Office showed that such crimes had recently increased both in number and in degree of atrocity. They include, Lord Crewe declared, both wholesale massacre and wholesale deportations, which were carried out under the guise of enforced evacuation. Similar crimes, he added, had been committed by the Turks against Christians on the Persian border.

The pressure of the Germans and the influence they exercised had been, Lord Crewe continued, "an absolute and unmitigated curse both to the Christian and Moslem population. They have shown a most complete cynical disregard for the country and the people who inhabit it."

Lord Crewe said he regretted that it was impossible to take immediate steps for the suppression of such atrocities, but that those responsible for them would ultimately receive just punishment.

#### REPORT TURKS SHOT WOMEN AND CHILDREN

PARIS, Aug. 3.—B. Varazdate, a member of the Executive Committee of the Armenian Social Democratic Party, writing to L'Humanita, the Socialist daily, says that the committee has received word to the effect that Turks, after massacring all the males of the population in the region of Bitlis, Turkish Armenia, assembled 9,000 women and children and drove them to the banks of the Tigris, where they shot them and threw the bodies into the river.

These advices have not been substantiated from any other sources.

The Armenian population of Cilicia, in the Turkish Vilayet of Adana, also has been subjected to persecutions, according to the reports of the communities. More than 40,000 persons already are dead and it is feared that the Armenians at Moush and Diarbekr, to Kurdistan also have been massacred.

Twenty members of the Armenian Social Democratic Party, M. Varazdate says, have been publicly hanged in Constantinople after being charged with wishing to found an independent Armenia.

#### ARMENIAN HORRORS GROW

LONDON, Friday, August 6.—The Daily Chronicle says:

"A tragic episode of the war in the East is the wholesale massacre of the Armenians in the eastern vilayets of Asia Minor by the Turks and Kurds. Regarding the terrible scale of these massacres, greater than any which occurred under Abdul Hamid, there is now no room for doubt, and the statements made on the subject last week by Lord Bryce in the House of Lords were officially corroborated by Lord Crewe.

"In certain cases the Armenians have defended themselves successfully. At the town of Van, for instance, to which Enver Pasha sent his brother-in-law with a commission of extermination, the victims rose after the massacres had begun, barricaded the Armenian quarter, and held out against the Turkish siege for four weeks until relieved by the

advent of the Russian army. But with this and some similar exceptions they have been powerless. Tens and probably hundreds of thousands have been butchered, and great numbers more have been deported by road hundreds of miles to Western Anatolia under conditions amounting to slow extermination.

"The Germans, who are masters of the Central Ottoman Administration, have to their everlasting shame not only permitted, but rather encouraged these horrors. The allied powers have notified the Turkish officials that they will hold them personally responsible, and at this stage they can do no more. There is perhaps room for an effective American protest, though we have not yet heard of one."

The Chronicle concludes by making an appeal to British private charity, citing the following terrible account of ruin and devastation following the Turkish massacres in Northeastern Armenia, telegraphed by Ayvadian, the Archbishop of Van, and Aram, the Governor of Van, to the honorary secretary of the Armenian Red Cross and Refugee Fund:

"Besides Van, the provinces of Chatakh, Moks, Sparkert, Mamertank, and Khizan are saved. The rest are ruined and devastated. Men, women, and children are massacred. Twenty thousand people are homeless. Famine and infectious disease prevail. Many volunteers are sick and wounded. Notwithstanding assistance from the Russian Government and the Armenians in the Caucasus, there is great want of doctors, drugs, ambulances, and food. The situation in Bitlia, Moush, and Diarbekr is terrible. We beg urgently for immediate help."

#### ARMENIANS ARE SENT TO PERISH IN DESERT

LONDON, Wednesday, Aug. 18.—The Daily News has received from Aneurin Williams, M. P., a copy of a letter from Constantinople, dated July 18, describing the terrible plight of the Armenians in Turkey. The letter says:

"We now know with certainty from a reliable source that the Armenians have been deported in a body from all the towns and villages in Cilicia to the desert regions south of Aleppo. The refugees will have to traverse on foot a distance, requiring marches of from one to two or even more months.

"We learn, besides, that the roads and the Euphrates are strewn with corpses of exiles, and those who survive are doomed to certain death, since they will find neither house, work, nor food in the desert. It is a plan to exterminate the whole Armenian people.

"Courts-martial operate everywhere without cessation. Twelve Armenians were hanged at Caessroa on a charge of having obeyed instructions which they had received from a meeting secretly held at Buchareat by the Troahak and Ilunchak societies. Many have fallen from blows from clubs. Thirteen Armenians were killed in this way at Diarbekr and six at Cassuea. Thirteen others were killed on their way from Chabine-Karahissar to Bluas. The priests of the village of Kurk with their five companions suffered the same fate on the road to Sow-Chehrasvas although they had their hands bound.

"Hundreds of women and young girls and even children groan in prisons. Churches and convents have been pillaged, defiled, and destroyed. The villages around Van and Bitlis have been pillaged and the inhabitants put to the sword."



"At the beginning of this month all the inhabitants of Karahissar were pitilessly massacred, with the exception of a few children."

#### BURN 1,000 ARMENIANS

LONDON, Friday, Aug. 20.—A Reuter dispatch from Petrograd says:

"Almost unbelievable details of Turkish massacres of Armenians in Bitlis have reached Petrograd.

"In one village 1,000 men, women and children are reported to have been locked in a wooden building and burned to death.

"In another large village only thirty-three persons, it is said, escaped massacre.

"In still another instance, it is asserted, several scores of men and women were tied together by chains and thrown into Lake Van."

#### TURKS DEPOPULATE TOWNS OF ARMENIA

A traveler who has just arrived in New York from Turkey, where he was long a resident, told The Times yesterday of conditions as he found them in Constantinople, and of the wholesale deportations of Armenians from the interior districts of Asiatic Turkey. For reasons that are valid the narrator does not wish to have his name published, but The Times can vouch for his qualifications as an observer, especially of conditions in the Armenian district.

Leaving Sivas, where he spent some time, he proceeded to Constantinople and thence to Athens, from which port he sailed for New York. When in Constantinople about four weeks ago, he said; the tension was pretty high. In official circles it was maintained that everything was proceeding smoothly for the Turks, but there were many individuals, he said, who expressed discouragement. These put little faith in Germany's motives in aiding Turkey, and some even charged Enver Pasha with having sold out to Germany for money.

#### 1,500,000 ARMENIANS STARVE

The American Armenian Relief Fund Committee has received two letters from Constantinople describing the horrors to which the Armenian Christians in Turkey are being subjected. One letter, dated June 15, says in part:

"The Turkish Government is executing today the plan of scattering the Armenians of the Armenian provinces, profiting from the troubles of the European powers and from the acquiescence of Germany and Austria.

"These people are being removed without any of their goods and chattels, and to places where the climate is totally unsuited to them. They are left without shelter, without food, and without clothing, depending only upon the morsels of bread which the Government will throw before them, a Government which is unable even to feed its own troops.

"It is impossible to read or to hear, without shedding tears, even the meagre details of these deportations. Most of the families have traveled on foot, old men and children have died on the way, young women in child-birth have been left on mountain passes, and at least ten deaths a day are recorded among them even in their place of exile victims of hunger and sickness. It has not been possible as yet to forward any help to Sultanieh, owing to the interdiction of the Government, in spite of the efforts of the American Ambassador, whose philanthropic and generous endeavors in aid of the Armenians are gratefully acknowledged."

#### ANSWER MORGENTHAU BY HANGING ARMENIANS

LONDON, Thursday, Sept. 16.—A Times correspondent, lately in Salonika, says that all the reports from Turkey are agreed as to the terrible character of the Turkish atrocities against Armenians. It is believed that it is the official intention that this shall be a campaign of extermination, involving the murdering of 800,000 to 1,000,000 persons. Christians can escape murder by embracing Mahomedanism, in which case all the female members of the convert's family of marriageable age—wife, sisters, or children—are distributed around to other Turks, making the reversion to Christianity in future practically impossible.

The American Minister at Constantinople is said to have protested recently against the massacre, in view of the danger to which they exposed the American missionaries. The only response to his protest was the hanging of twenty leading Armenians the next day in the streets of Constantinople.

#### 500,000 ARMENIANS SAID TO HAVE PERISHED

WASHINGTON, Sept. 23.—Charles R. Crane of Chicago, a Director of Roberts College, Constantinople, and James L. Burton of Boston, Foreign Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, visited the State Department today and conferred with Acting Secretary of State Polk and other officials regarding the slaughter of Armenians by Turks and Kurds in Asia Minor. They will attend a meeting of a general committee, to be held in New York within a few days, to devise a plan for appealing to the American people for funds and aid for as many of the unfortunate Armenians as can be helped.

It was learned, in connection with the conferences held here today, that general representations have from time to time been made to the Ottoman Government by Ambassador Morgenthau for humane treatment of Armenians. Despite these representations, the slaughter of Armenians has continued.

The records of the State Department are replete with detailed reports from American Consular officers in Asia Minor, which give harrowing tales of the treatment of the Armenian Christians by the Turks and the Kurds. These reports have not been made public. They indicate that the Turk has undertaken a war of extermination on Armenians, especially those of the Gregorian Church, to which about 90 percent of the Armenians belong. The Turkish Government originally ordered the deportation of all Armenians, but, some time ago, after representations had been made by Ambassador Morgenthau, the Ottoman Government gave assurances that the order would be modified so as not to embrace Catholic and Protestant Armenians.

#### ARMENIAN WOMEN PUT UP AT AUCTION

The statement made by Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, in a letter to Miran Sevasly of Coston, in which he characterized the reports concerning Turkish atrocities perpetrated against the Armenians as "pure inventions," will be answered in a few days by a number of well-known Americans who are cognizant of the actual situation in Turkey, and who, it is said, will produce absolutely trustworthy evidence and authenticated data to prove, as one of them put it yesterday, that "all Armenia is bloody with atrocities."

The letter of the German Ambassador to Mr. Sevasly was published in The Times of yesterday, and the statements made by Count von Bernstorff created nothing short of indignation in missionary and other circles in which the Armenian situation is at the present time now of vital concern.

"So far as the German Ambassador is concerned, all that I care to say just now," said Professor Samuel T. Dutton, Secretary of the Committee on Armenian Atrocities, yesterday, "is that he has evidently been badly misinformed. I am quite sure that he will be much surprised when he sees the concrete material, all of it thoroughly authenticated, concerning what has happened in Armenia which is in the possession of this committee."

#### ARMENIAN OFFICIALS MURDERED BY TURKS

LONDON, Sept. 29.—The Cairo correspondent of The Times, in a dispatch dated Sept. 27, says:

Confirmation has reached here of reports of Armenian atrocities of a nauseating and appalling character. Undoubtedly, as on previous occasions, these outrages have been engineered from Stamboul. There is reason to believe that the attack on the Armenians was decided upon on Enver Pasha's return after his repulse in the Caucasus, when he appeared to be infuriated against the Armenians because they had greatly assisted the Russians.

"Talat Bey evidently seized the opportunity to retaliate upon the defenseless colonies in Asia Minor. The formula adopted as a cloak was an order for the expulsion of the Armenians and their deportation to centres in the interior. Resistance or delay in compliance with the order was made the excuse for murder, rape, and other savageries.

"One instance in which leading Armenians were concerned shows the fate awaiting even those who obeyed the order. Vartkes Effendi and Zohrab Effendi, two prominent members of Parliament; Agnuni, one of the chief Dashnakists; Haladjian Effendi, and Pastermedjian Effendi, ex-Ministers of Public Works and Agriculture, were put in a carriage at Urfa for conveyance to Diarbakir, and then were murdered en route, their escort reporting that the murders were the work of brigands. Vartkes was but recently recipient of marks of Talaat Bey's friendship.

"Refugees from Suedia now at Port Said appear to have fought most valiantly. When the deportation order came 4,800 of these took to the hills, where they resisted for seven weeks, one attack of the Turks lasting continuously for twenty-six hours. It is believed that Armenians elsewhere are resisting, but the case of the inland colonies is almost hopeless.

"The nature and scale of the atrocities dwarf anything perpetrated in Belgium or under Abdul Ha mid, whose exploits in this direction now assume an aspect of moderation compared with those of the present Governors of Turkey. Talaat Bay, when ordering the deportations, said:

"After this, for fifty years there will not be an Armenian question."

#### SAYS EXTINCTION MENACES ARMENIA

Dr. M. Simbad Gabriel, President of the Armenian General Progressive Association in the United States told a Times reporter last night that no American could possibly conceive of the atrocities which the Turks had perpetrated on the Christian Armenians. He said that from correspondence he

had received from Nubar Pasha, the diplomatic representative in Paris of the Catholicos or head of the Armenian church, he estimated the number of Armenians put to death as more than 450,000, while 600,000 others had been driven from their homes to wander among the villages of Asia Minor, all these out of a population of 1,500,000.

"We in America can't begin to realize the extent of this reign of terror," said Dr. Gabriel, "because Armenians in Turkey are not allowed to write, nor even to converse with each other of what they are undergoing at the hands of the Turks. Nubar Pasha writes that he has been informed by the Catholicos and also by prominent Armenians in Constantinople, who bind him by the most solemn oaths not to reveal their names, of some of the horrible deeds which have been perpetrated by the Moslems on the Armenians."

#### TALES OF ARMENIAN HORRORS CONFIRMED

Professor Samuel Train Dutton, Secretary of the Committee on Armenian Atrocities, made public yesterday a preliminary statement of the committee outlining the result of its investigation of the terrible conditions existing among the Armenians. The committee says that the reports concerning the massacre, torture, and other maltreatment of Armenians of all-ages abundantly are confirmed by its investigation.

Other members of the committee besides Professor Dutton are Cleveland H. Dodge, Arthur Curtiss James, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, John R. Mott, Frank Mason North, James L. Barton, William Sloane, D. Stuart Dodge, and others.

The statement issued by the committee yesterday is as follows:

"A sub-committee has thoroughly investigated the evidence and has just made report to the full committee confirming in every particular the statement recently made by Viscount Bryce regarding the imprisonment, torture, murder, massacre, and exile into the deserts of Northern Arabia of defenseless and innocent Armenians, including decrepit men, women and children, and their forcible conversion to Islam.

"Written testimonies of eyewitnesses whose names are known to the committee, but which obviously cannot now be made public, have been examined with utmost care. This testimony covers hundreds of pages, and the character and position of the authors and the positiveness of utterances carry absolute conviction.

#### GOVERNMENT SENDS PLEA FOR ARMENIA

WASHINGTON, Oct. 4.—Further representations have been made to the Ottoman Government by the Government of the United States regarding the Armenian atrocities.

Secretary of State Lansing tonight sent to Ambassador Morgenthau at Constantinople a message voicing the interest of the American people in the Armenian situation, and urging that steps be taken by the Turkish Government for the protection and humane treatment of the Armenians.

The message did not take the form of a protest from the Government of the United States, but directed Mr. Morgenthau to inform the Ottoman Government that the atrocities inflicted upon the Armenian Christians had aroused strong sentiment among the American people, and that a continuation of these atrocities would tend to jeopardize the good feeling of the people of the United States toward the people of Turkey.

Secretary Lansing said today that no representations had been made to Germany regarding the treatment of the Armenians by the Turks. It was learned, however, that Ambassador Morgenthau had reported that the German Embassy at Constantinople had filed a protest on this subject with the Turkish Foreign Office. An announcement some time ago was to the effect that the State Department had asked Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador here, to bring the matter to the attention of his Foreign Office.

#### 800,000 ARMENIANS COUNTED DESTROYED

LONDON, Thursday, Oct. 7.—The Daily Chronicle's Parliamentary correspondent in the House of Lords says:

"This afternoon Lord Bryce gave a heart-piercing account of the circumstances under which the Armenian people are being exterminated as a result of an absolutely premeditated policy elaborately pursued by the gang now in control of Turkey. He computes that since May last 800,000 Armenians, men, women, and children, have been slain in cold blood in Asia Minor.

"The House of Lords is a very unemotional assembly, but it was thrilled in every fibre at the story of the horrors compared to which even the atrocities of Abdul Hamid pale. As Lord Bryce truly said, there is not a case in history since the days of Tamerlane where a crime so hideous and on so gigantic a scale has been recorded. An ex-Sultan of Turkey is credited with saying that 'the only way to get rid of the Armenian question is to get rid of the Armenian.'"

"That horrible policy has," Lord Bryce said, "been carried out far more thoroughly by the present Turkish Government than it ever was by Abdul Hamid." The Armenian nation is not yet quite extinct; forlorn remnants have found refuge in the Caucasian provinces; some managed to reach Egypt; a few ill-armed, half-starved bands; are bravely defending themselves from would-be assassins in the mountains of Sassun and Cilicia.

#### SPARE ARMENIANS, POPE ASKS SULTAN

ROME, Oct. 10.—Mgr. Dolci, the Apostolic Delegate at Constantinople, having reported to the Holy See on the sufferings of the Armenians, Pope Benedict has written an autograph letter to the Sultan of Turkey interceding for the unfortunate people.

BERLIN, Oct. 10, (by Wireless to Tucker-ton, N.J.).—"The Cologne Gazette refers to the accusations of Lord Cromer and the Marquis of Crews in the House of Lords that German Consular officials encouraged the Turkish population to attack Armenians," says the Overseas News Agency. "The newspaper states that the purpose of these unfounded assertions is easy to comprehend. England wishes to divert the attention of neutrals from the violation of Greek neutrality, and, since the Belgian question is no longer novel enough, turns to new accusations."

#### MASSACRES RENEWED, MORGENTHAU REPORTS

WASHINGTON, Oct. 12.—Armenian massacres in Asiatic Turkey have been renewed with vigor since Bulgaria's practical entrance into the war as Turkey's ally. This information reached the State Department today from Ambassador Morgenthau, who stated that the majority of the Armenians in Asiatic Turkey had been killed.

Although representations were made by this Government, some time ago, warning

Turkey that further atrocities against the Armenians would alienate the sympathies of the American people, no answer has been received.

Earlier representations were met with two concessions, promising that those Armenians who wished to leave the country would be permitted to do so unharmed, and further that Protestant Armenians would be spared. Information recently reaching this country, however, indicates that these conditions have not been strictly adhered to. From one quarter it was asserted that "they were rescinded the next day."

Although \$100,000 from private subscriptions has been placed at Ambassador Morgenthau's disposal, for distribution among the Armenian refugees now banished to desert towns, no arrangements have been made for bringing Armenians to this country, as was originally planned, except where friends or relatives send for them. Those Armenians who were spared are now gathered in the country between the Tigres and Euphrates Rivers.

#### TURKISH OFFICIAL DENIES ATROCITIES

Djelal Munif Bey, the Turkish Consul General in New York, in an official statement to the Times yesterday declared the report made public a week ago last Sunday by the American Committee on Armenian Atrocities, which asserted that not in the one thousand years just ended had a people suffered such terrible outrages as are those the Turks are perpetrating upon the Armenians, to be a fabrication. The report described the atrocities as being officially sanctioned from Constantinople, and it was stated that the situation was one involving an attempt to wipe out an entire race.

Among the men who signed the report were Bishop David H. Greer, Cleveland H. Dodge, Oscar S. Straus, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, the Rev. Dr. James L. Barton, William Sloane, Professor Samuel P. Dutton, Charles R. Crane, and Arthur Curtiss James. Cardinal Gibbons has, since the report was issued, accepted membership on the committee.

The committee, in a foreword to the report, stated that it vouched for its truthfulness, and added that "the movement against the Armenians forms part of a concerted movement against all non-Turkish and missionary and progressive elements, including the Zionists."

The Times yesterday asked Djelal Bey, as the highest Turkish official in New York, if he, as the representative of the Ottoman Government, had any reply to make to the charges made by the Armenian Atrocities Committee.

#### ONLY 200,000 ARMENIANS NOW LEFT IN TURKEY

TIFLIS, TRANSCAUCASIA, Oct. 19 (via Petrograd and London, Oct. 21).—The estimate is made by the Armenian newspaper Mshak that of the 1,200,000 Armenian inhabitants of Turkey before the war there remain not more than 200,000. This residue, the Mshak says, may disappear before the end of the war, on account of the Turkish policy of extermination.

The figures of the Mshak are based on the estimate of the Armenian Patriarch at Constantinople that 850,000 Armenians have been killed or enslaved by the Turks. In addition to which 200,000 Armenians are believed to have fled to Russia.



## GERMANY SAYS SHE CANNOT STOP TURKS

WASHINGTON, Oct. 22.—Confidential advices received today by the State Department said the German Government had officially made efforts to alleviate alleged atrocities upon Armenians in Turkey, but that Turkish officials apparently displayed lack of interest in such endeavors.

Representations were made by the United States through Ambassador Morgenthau at Constantinople some time ago, warning Turkey that continued persecution of Armenians would alienate the friendship of the American people. A number of dispatches on the subject have been received from Mr. Morgenthau, but there has been no announcement of a definite answer from the Ottoman Government.

## SLAY ALL ARMENIANS IN CITY OF KERASUNT

LONDON, Tuesday, Oct. 28.—A dispatch to the Daily Mail from Odessa says:

"The Turks have massacred the entire Armenian population of Kerasunt, on the Black Sea."

Kerasunt is a seaport in Asiatic Turkey, about seventy miles west of Trebizond. It is situated on a rocky promontory with a spacious bay on the east side. The heights surrounding are covered with luxurious vegetation. The population of Kerasunt is about 24,000.

LONDON, Oct. 25.—An eyewitness story of Armenian atrocities, given to the British staff at the Dardanelles by an Armenian prisoner who was serving in the Turkish Army, is sent by the Reuter correspondent with the Dardanelles fleet. This Armenian says the declaration of martial law at Zile included the confiscation of all Armenian property.

He describes how women were tied to the tails of ox carts and exposed to hunger and rough weather until they accepted conversion to Islam or death; how mothers were bayoneted before the eyes of their children, and how Armenian girls were distributed as chattels among civil and military officials.

The prisoner says that as a soldier he was compelled to assist in many massacres, being on one occasion a member of a party of forty soldiers which superintended the death of 800 Armenians. His account closes as follows:

"There is reason to believe that German advisers of the Turks have urged upon them the undesirability of allowing a large alien and presumably unfriendly population to inhabit ports which lie open to Russian attack."

## AID FOR ARMENIANS BLOCKED BY TURKEY

The American Committee on Armenian Atrocities, among the members of which are Cardinal Gibbons, Cleveland H. Dodge, Bishop David H. Greer, Oscar S. Straus, Professor Samuel T. Dutton, Charles R. Crane, and many other prominent citizens, issued a statement yesterday in which it was said that authentic reports from Turkey proved that the war of extermination being waged by the Turks against the Armenians was so terrible that when all the facts were known the world would realize that what had been done was "the greatest, most pathetic, and most arbitrary tragedy in history."

Attempts to furnish food to the Armenians, ordered deported to distant parts of the empire were blocked by the Turkish authorities, the committee said, the Turkish officials stating that "they wished nothing to be done that would prolong their lives."

In the statement the committee makes public a report received a few days ago from an official representative of one of the neutral powers, who, reporting on conditions in one of the Armenian camps, says:

"I have verified their encampment and a more pitiable sight cannot be imagined. They are, almost without exception, ragged, hungry and sick. This is not surprising in view of the fact that they have been on the road for nearly two months, with no change of clothing, no chance to bathe, no shelter, and little to eat. I watched them one time when their food was brought. Wild animals could not be worse. They rushed upon the guards who carried the food and the guards beat them back with clubs, hitting hard enough to kill sometimes. To watch them one could hardly believe these people to be human beings. As one walks through the camp, mothers offer their children and beg you to take them. In fact, the Turks have been taking their choice of these children and girls, for slaves or worse. There are very few men among them as most of the men were killed on the road. Women and children were also killed. The entire movement seems to be the most thoroughly organized and effective massacre this country has ever seen."

## GERMANY PROTESTED ARMENIAN MASSACRES

BOSTON, Dec. 22.—The German Government on Aug. 9 last filed at Constantinople a protest against the Turkish treatment of Armenians, according to Dr. James L. Barton, Chairman of the National Committee for Armenian and Serbian Relief, who today made public the text of the protest.

In a statement quoting the official statement transmitted by the German Embassy at Constantinople, Dr. Barton, speaking for the committee, called attention to the fact that Count Ernest von Reventlow, the German naval expert, in a recent statement, published in the Tages Zeitung in Germany and cabled to the United States, strongly defended Turkey's massacre of the Armenians on the basis of military necessity.

"One wonders," Dr. Barton added, "whether von Reventlow knows that throughout the length and breadth of the Turkish Empire, after the men (who only were capable of revolution, but who, according to every known evidence did not revolt) had nearly all been disposed of, the attack fell upon the widows and orphans, who were driven from their homes by hundreds of thousands at the point of the bayonet."

"It is possible that von Reventlow knows that fully one-half of these refugees miserably perished from violence, exposure and starvation. He must be ignorant of the sickening reports made by many eyewitnesses—American, Italian, British, German—civilian and official, who tell of seeing these helpless inoffensive women and girls brained because they clamored for food or forced into Islam because perchance they were comely, of women throwing their babies into rivers or over precipices to save them from the impending horror of continuing existence."

## AMERICANS' DEATHS LAID TO THE TURKS

The strain and shock of the tragedies that the war has brought to Turkey during the last year is responsible for the deaths of five of the American missionaries on duty in the Turkish Embassy since the first of last May, the period covered by the Turkish campaign against the Armenians, according to the annual report of the Rev. Dr. James L. Barton, the foreign secretary of the Board

of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, made public here yesterday.

The missionaries whose deaths are attributed to the terrible conditions in Turkey were Mrs. Mary E. Barnum, died at Harpoot, May 9, after fifty-six years of service in Turkey; Mrs. Charlotte E. Ely, died at Bitlis, July 11, after forty-seven years continuous service; the Rev. George P. Knapp, died at Diarbekr, Aug. 10, after twenty-five years service at Harpoot and at Bitlis; Mrs. Martha W. Reynolds, wife of the Rev. Dr. George C. Reynolds, died Aug. 27, from injuries received while in flight from Van to Tiflis, Russia, and Mrs. Elizabeth Usher, died of typhus fever at Van, July 14, after sixteen years of service.

The report goes into the war situation in detail. Among the hundreds of thousands of Armenians and other Christians who perished in Turkey, Dr. Barton states, were "professors and teachers in our schools, pastors and preachers, pupils, and all other classes," every one of whom he adds, "miserably perished at home, or have died of exposure upon the road toward northern Arabia or elsewhere where vast multitudes have been exiled."

"Probably in all history," Dr. Barton continues, "two hundred missionaries have never been called on to pass through more terrible experiences than have our missionaries in Turkey during the last nine or ten months, and the end is not yet."

Referring to the treatment of Armenians by the Turkish authorities, Dr. Barton says that when Harpoot was made a military centre several of the buildings of Euphrates College were voluntarily turned over to the Turkish military authorities. A large dormitory was not and the American Consul sealed the door with the official seal of the United States.

## MILLION ARMENIANS KILLED OR IN EXILE

In a statement issued yesterday from the offices of the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief at 70 Fifth Avenue, further atrocities committed by Turks upon Armenian Christians were detailed and additional evidence was given to support Lord Bryce's assertion that the massacres are the result of a deliberate plan of the Turkish Government to "get rid of the Armenian question," as Abdul Hamid once said, by getting "rid of the Armenians."

Professor Samuel T. Dutton, Secretary of the committee, said:

"According to all of the best evidence which the American committee has received, it is probably well within the truth to say that of the 2,000,000 Armenians in Turkey a year ago, at least 1,000,000 have been killed or forced into Islam, or compelled to flee the country, or have died upon the way to exile, or are now upon the road to the deserts of Northern Arabia, or are already there. The number of victims is constantly increasing. Surely there can be no greater need of immediate help, even in these troublous times, than the desperate need of the Armenian refugees. The American committee has already done much in collecting and sending funds, as has also the English committees, but there is still the direct need of generous contributions. All contributions should be sent to Charles R. Crane, Treasurer, 70 Fifth Avenue."

#### SULTAN SEARCHING OUT AUTHORS OF KILLINGS

LONDON, Dec. 6.—The London newspapers today printed an interview with Mohammed VI, the Turkish Sultan, obtained by a British correspondent in Constantinople, who describes that ruler as a very different personality from his two brothers who preceded him on the throne.

Mohammed VI, says the correspondent, gives one the impression of possessing a strong character and considerable intellectual force. He is tall and slender, and his appearance suggests that of a university professor.

In talking with the correspondent the Sultan condemned the unwisdom and lack of foresight which brought Turkey into the war and led her to the calamity which had befallen her. He declared that if he had been Sultan this would never have happened.

The ruler expressed great sorrow at the treatment of the Armenians by "certain political committees of Turkey," and added:

"Such misdeeds and the mutual slaughter of sons of the same fatherland have broken my heart. I ordered an inquiry as soon as I came to the throne so that the tormentors might be severely punished, but various factors prevented my orders from being promptly carried out. The matter is now being thoroughly investigated. Justice will soon be done and we will never have a repetition of these ugly events."

The Sultan asked the interviewer to publish the following from him:

"The great majority of the nation is entirely innocent of the misdeeds attributed to it. Only a limited number of persons are responsible."

#### SAW ARMENIANS DROWNED IN GROUPS

PORTLAND, Me., Feb. 1.—The young American woman who Abram I. Elkus, former American Ambassador to Turkey, says is the only living eyewitness to the atrocities of the Turks against the Armenians, excepting the Turks themselves, was found in this city today by newspaper men. She is Mrs. George Dar Arsanian of 27 Washington Avenue, and through the assistance of Mr. Elkus and ex-Ambassador James W. Gerard, she escaped from Turkey and eventually returned to America.

Her first husband, Robert Agasarian, an Armenian by birth, but a naturalized American citizen and resident of this country for twenty years was murdered, she says, by the Turks along with hundreds of others, and her little son was drowned in a river near the town of Chmeshgasak, Turkey.

#### TURKS HANG KEMAL BEY FOR ARMENIAN MASSACRES

CONSTANTINOPLE, April 12.—Kemal Bey, Governor of Diarbekir, has been publicly hanged in Bayazid Square in Stamboul, in the presence of the Military Governor of Constantinople and other high officials. Kemal Bey was sentenced to death as one of those responsible for the Armenian deportations and massacres in the Yozghad district.

The former commander of the gendarmery in Yozghad was sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment in the fortress.

These sentences were confirmed by an imperial irade.

The trial of those responsible for the Armenian massacres by the Turks began early in February at Constantinople. The prosecutor declared that it was necessary to punish the authors of the massacres, which

had filled the whole world with a feeling of horror.

Kemal Bey was former Turkish Minister of Food.

#### ARMENIAN GIRLS TELL OF MASSACRES

Personal narratives told by Christian women and girls of Armenia, who were deported from their homes to virtual captivity or slavery in the camps of the Turks, Circassians and Arabs, or were held captives in Turkish harems in Asia Minor, have been received by the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief. A statement issued by the Committee says that the women whose stories are now made public, were released by their masters or rescued by allied troops.

"After the signing of the armistice," says the Committee's statement, "many of the Turks, believing that by so doing they could escape punishment, turned the women—many of them with babies—into the streets." Cable dispatches to the Committee have reported that numbers of these women were wandering about the country, crazed by starvation and exposure. As fast as possible they are being gathered up by the Committee's relief workers and placed in homes established for their care. A late telegram said that fifteen such homes have been established in Asia Minor.

Stories of Armenian victims of Turkish atrocity were obtained by Dr. Loyal I. Wirt, member of an expedition sent to Turkey by the Committee. They were taken down as related by Dr. W. A. Kennedy, Field Director of the Lord Mayor's Relief Fund of London. Dr. Kennedy assured Dr. Wirt that he personally reread the affidavits to the narrators and they signed them in his presence.

#### SOVIET ARMENIAN HISTORIAN COMMENTS—THE DISTORTION OF HISTORY CONTINUES (By Prof. John G. Giragosian)

In recent times, Prof. John Giragosian, a historian specializing in the period of contemporary Armenian history that covers the tragic events of World War I, and who is also the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Soviet Armenia, has frequently written about present efforts on the part of Turkey to distort historical facts by presenting the Ottoman Turkish massacres of Armenians as a simple uprising by Armenians that resulted in much killing on both sides.

Prof. Giragosian is the author of many books about this period and is viewed as an authority on the subject. While Soviet Armenian leaders have discounted claims that the series of articles by Prof. Giragosian reflects a new policy on the part of the Soviet Union toward Turkey, and particularly toward the Turkish-Armenian issue, there is reason to believe that these articles are not coincidental to the surge of Armenian terrorism directed at Turkish diplomats and targets throughout Europe, the United States and Canada.

Below is Part I of the English translation of one of the most recent essays written by Prof. Giragosian. Part II will be published in the next issue of the Armenian Reporter. The translation was done by Edward K. Boghosian, editor of this paper.

In 1980 published in New York City was a volume entitled Documentary History of the Massacres of Armenians in Yozghad authored by Krieger. Featured in this volume are remarkable documents and evidence collected from official Turkish sources and newspapers in the period 1918-1919. Based on this material, we note that as early as

1918; an investigative committee attached to the Turkish government was created with a decree issued by the Sultan, which was commissioned to compile all official documents related to the massacres of the Armenians. Heading this commission was Mazhar Bey, the former governor of the district of Ankara, who was removed from office in 1915 for his refusal to carry out orders received from Talaat Pasha for the deportation of Armenians. Through a series of questionnaires addressed to various districts of the country, Mazhar Bey managed to collect a huge quantity of official and special testimony, which he subsequently submitted to the Military Tribunal.

On December 12, 1918, Jemal Bey, the district governor of Yozghad, offered detailed testimony revealing important information on the criminal role of some high government officials. For instance, he told how a police chief, named Tewfic Bey, organized marauding teams of irregulars who were set on Armenians. After the dismissal of Jemal Bey, when Kemal Bey visited Yozghad, he immediately embarked on the task of carrying out plans for the annihilation of Armenians.

Halide Edip Hanoum, a prominent Turkish poetess, and an activist in public and political life, signed a statement that appeared in the October 21, 1918 issue of Vaket in which she said: "In those days when we were strong, we attempted to destroy the Christians in general and Armenians in particular through methods reminiscent of the Middle Ages. . . . We are presently living the darkest and the saddest days of our national life. Both the United States and Great Britain look upon us as a country which has gone so far as to attempt to destroy its own nationals and sons. The present government asserts that we should arrange for the return of Armenians to their homes." She did not believe that such a plan could be successfully carried out as she little trusted the ability of local authorities. Instead she was raising the possibility of forming a joint commission consisting of Turks, Armenians and Americans who sought justice. Two months later, Halide Edib, in an article appearing in Yeni Gun, was charging the Young Turks party and the government with responsibility for the crimes committed against the Armenian people, and drawing the conclusion that "Turks had provided the evidence that they could not from a civilized government."

Following the armistice, the massacres of the Armenians became the most important issue that kept the Ottoman Parliament busy. Comments offered and discussions of the issue were subsequently printed in Takvieme Vakayeen, the official gazette of the military tribunal and in other publications. In the 1919-1920 issues of Takvieme Vakayeen, printed were the minutes of the deliberations at the Tribunal, while other publications offered commentaries about specific issues and important points.

Hafez Mehmed Bey, the deputy from the Drabizond district, offered documentary evidence to prove that the massacres of the Armenians had been organized by the government of the Young Turks party and that was carried out by the units of bandits and thugs operating as "Teshkilate Makhsoosie." Demands were made during these discussions in the Parliament that not only those who conspire to stage the assassinations or massacres. "Such persons must be brought to trial in lower courts," has been registered in the minutes of the Parliament, and "the issue is raised to condemn those



crimes which have been committed by the unruly crowds with the explicit approval and cooperation of government officials." Some were even accusing the Turkish Parliament of complicity in the mischief committed. It is proper to remind readers that following the collapse of the Talaat government, October 7, 1918, major reshuffling within the high levels of the governing body took place. In general, and starting with October 1918, and following the November 7th resignation of the Young Turk government, the criticism of the government, reassessments and accusations turned into a major preoccupation in the Turkish press. The Armenian issue, the deportation and the annihilation of Western Armenians, the various aspects of the role played by Armenians in the Ottoman Empire were widely discussed. Jelal Bey, the governor of Konya, who first served as governor of Aleppo, in articles that appeared in the *Vaket* newspaper, discussed at length details about the deportation of Armenians and his stand regarding these. "If all our enemies in the world had joined together against us and wanted to hurt us in a manner without any parallel, they could not do so. . . . Armenians held one quarter of the country's wealth," he wrote, "they controlled almost half of the country's trade and manufacturing. Exterminating Armenians was tantamount to destroying the empire itself, a loss that could not be replaced in centuries to come." Jelal Bey did not conceal his views either from the government or from members of the Parliament. Unfortunately few people paid any attention to his pleas.

#### AN OPEN ADMISSION

The *Renaissance* newspaper, in its issue of December 18, 1918, published the full text of the interview granted by Prince Abdul Mejid, the heir to the throne, to the *British Morning Post*. In this interview, the heir to the Ottoman throne did not conceal the fact that "the massacres were the work of Talaat and Enver," and that "if Germany so chose, she could have prevented the massacres from taking place," and other similar comments. The prince also revealed that Enver had not even attempted to cover up the fact that there were "implicit decisions" relative to the massacres. He was quoted as saying that he had pleaded with the Sultan to intervene in the matter, yet the Sultan had failed to heed his pleas.

New evidence was continually offered in the press and names of the guilty were continually being exposed. The Turkish *Sabah* paper featured an open letter addressed to Pirizad Ibrahim Bey, the former minister of justice, which contained many revealing queries. "Were you not in favor of the decisions made at the headquarters of the top leaders of the Young Turks when you chose to release from detention a host of tough criminals for the sole purpose of expelling Armenians from their homes despite their complete innocence . . . you let them be ruthlessly exterminated. . . . Was it not you who rejoiced over the massacres of the Armenians, which were being carried out with blows from axes, hatchets and picks?"

These are facts that cannot be ignored in order to cover up the truth. This is precisely how those who distort history are presently acting.

In the deliberations of the special Military Tribunal set up in December of 1918 by Sultan Mehmet VI Vahid Eddin, through an imperial edict, to try those responsible for the massacres of the Armenians, charges were based on the contents of official documents from the government of Young Turks

and other evidence provided by special testimony. This evidence was later published, in addition to the *Takvim e Vakal* official gazette, in a number of other publications. The French language *Renaissance* paper that was published in Istanbul has devoted considerable space to this evidence.

Let Turkish diplomats and ambassadors such as Elekdagh, Bulak and their other colleagues, if they so choose, become acquainted with these articles that appeared in the *Renaissance*.

When, on December 21, 1918, issues related to the offenses committed by leaders of the Young Turk party were being discussed in the Turkish Parliament, addressing the issue of the massacres of the Armenians, Mustafa Arif Bey, then the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, declared: "Now that atrocities committed against Armenians have come to the surface, mankind views these atrocities with disgust. The country was turned over to us as if it were one huge slaughter house."

At the end of 1918 and the beginning of 1919, Ali Kemal, the editor-in-chief of the Istanbul based *Sabah* paper and Yunus Nadi, the chief editor of *Yenbi Gun*, in a series of editorial comments, focused on the necessity of revealing the names of those who were responsible for the massacres of the Armenians and the need to set the stage to bring such people to trial. "The whole world is aware of the reality that these massacres were executed by the orders of the Central Committee (the reference is about the *Ittihad* party). The orders were transmitted through special envoys and were carried out under their own supervision through an army of thugs. Is it not a service to the Turks and to the cause of Turkey, the disclosure of this fact?" editor Ali Kemal asked. "Would anyone wish us to refrain from bringing this out so that we too will fall prey to the same accusations?"

The Turkish *Istiklal* newspaper conceded that World War I triggered a spirit of immorality and animal passion among Turks. To deny the cold truth is to deny the sunrises (*Renaissance*, No. 173, June 22, 1919).

When, on November 4, 1918, the Ottoman Parliament was discussing the deportation of Armenians and issues related to the massacres, Fuad Bey, a member of the Parliament, directed numerous charges at the Young Turks, after accusing their leaders of turning Turkey into "a theater for crime."

We do not doubt that if asked, the archives kept in Istanbul and Ankara would willingly provide these Turkish historians copies of the issues of *Renaissance*, *Tasvire Evkear* and other publications. Let these historians glance through the pages, study the history of their own country and no longer see the need to lie.

The Turkish Military Tribunal levelled two charges at the offenders of the Young Turk movement: 1. The entry of Turkey in World Wars I and II; 2. The extermination of the Armenian people. The Tribunal sentenced to death a number of governors and cabinet ministers. On April 8, 1919, sentenced to death were Kemal Bey, Governor of Yozgad, followed by the sentencing to death on May 22 of Jemal Azmi Bey, governor of Trabizond and in absentia, of Naim Bey, the secretary general of the *Ittihad* party in that city. Similarly on July 5, 1919, death sentences were announced for Enver, Talaat, Jemal and other leaders who had managed to escape from the country.

When the Military Tribunal announced its first death sentence, the spokesman for the Sublime Port and the Sultan's Palace, in

an interview with *Alemtar* daily, described the nature of actions against Armenians: "Let us not attribute to Armenians any offense. Let us not forget that the world is not stupid." It appears that this true assessment offered some 65 years ago, was made for those Turks of the present period who distort history.

The *Alemtar* newspaper was equalling the sentencing of Ali Kemal Bey with the condemnation of the Turkish people, and asserted that "our only means of salvation was to cry out loud to the civilized world that we are determined to bring to just and open trial all offenders. If the square at Bayazid fails to witness the gallows of those who are hung, then Paris (where the 1919 Peace Conference was held) would become the site of our condemnation as a people and a country." *Alemtar* continued: "We as Turks, are charged with a crime and are infected with an incurable disease, which is more horrible than the plague. This is precisely why we set up a special military tribunal in order to punish the offenders so due justice is carried out." (*Renaissance*, No. 128, January 5, 1919).

It was not accidental that in an official message to the Paris Peace Conference, Damad Ferid Pasha, the Prime Minister of the Turkish government, conceded the following statement: "During the War, the civilized world was touched and shaken when it learned about those crimes committed by Turks. I cannot even think of distorting these crimes, crimes that horrify man's conscience. More so, I cannot minimize the scope of the guilt of those offenders who were responsible for this tragedy. Based on documentary evidence, I intend to tell the world who were the real responsables for these horrible crimes."

Such is the evidence of history. It demands respect. It appears that *Turktche Stamboul* newspaper in 1919 wrote about those official personalities of the present who do not seem to respect the evidences and said: "Claims made by us that Armenians were the aggressors in Van and we then had to resort to revengeful actions in Anadolou, can only satisfy those who are directed by 'sentiments' and do not wish to accept the scientific and true explanations. Such a position will never defend our cause in the face of public opinion of Europe and the United States."

Yes, these indeed are the facts of history, Mr. Politician and Mr. Diplomat. And those who presently strive to distort these facts and vindicate those who committed the genocide, are double offenders and deserve the same fate as their predecessors.

The onslaught by Turkey to distort history goes on without interruption. In recent times, these efforts have assumed major proportions and strange forms. The Turkish press is full of anti-Armenian fabrications. Official Turkish circles appear to have engaged in a major effort to force their distortions of history relative to the Armenian genocide and the Turkish massacres of Armenians upon the entire world and particularly on the news media in the United States, the western world and in Europe. Turkish diplomats assigned to these countries have engaged in feverish activities along these lines and have expended considerable sums to "buy out" leading newspapers in order to publish ridiculous lies that have been proven wrong many times over. According to the claims made, rather than being the victims, Armenians were the "aggressors." It appears that these are efforts on the part of a group of liars who are con-

vinced that by repeating lies, people will sooner or later believe them. Thus we are witness to the promotion of another lie, one even worse than the original lies presented. Yet, few are those who believe in these lies. In the March 15th issue of the Los Angeles Times, Nicholas Loudington, a writer, stated, "official Turkish representatives are fearful that a public and candid recognition of historical facts may lead to suggestion of compensations."

The New York Times, in its issue of April 23, 1983, published an essay written by G. Meyer on the tragedy that struck western Armenians. His presentation, in general, appears to be a factual representation of events of that period. The large Armenian community in Turkey in 1915 emerged as the first victim of genocide in the 20th century. This awful measure caused the deportation and massacre of over a million and a half Armenians, noted Mr. Meyer, who condemned the present Turkish government for its consistent failure to acknowledge its responsibility. This refusal is viewed as a "loss of memory."

Further, the New York Times, in its issue on May 5, 1983, published a letter written by Sukru Elekdagh, Turkey's Ambassador in Washington, D.C. This letter, one might say, either offered false claims or repeated old claims. Ambassador Elekdagh appears to be unhappy over the trials in 1919 by Turkish military tribunals of the Young Turks, who were guilty. According to the ambassador, Armenian insurgents, allied with Russia, aimed at creating an "Armenian State" on Turkish territory. He also attempts to deny claims made by G. Meyer relative to the Armenian population of Ottoman Turkey which was placed at 2,300,000, and rather attempted to claim that the number was merely 1,300,000. That the ambassador is not right, is known to everyone, particularly those who are familiar with history and to fundamental historical sources. However, let us for a moment question the Turkish diplomat as to what happened to that number of people. Wouldn't that number, within the period of six decades, have tripled or even quadrupled? The Turkish ambassador ridicules events portrayed in Werfel's novel, *Forty Days of Musa Dagh*, discounting it as far from authoritative. In the view of Ambassador Elekdagh, decrees issued by the Ottoman government for the "relocation" of Armenians had been carried out "under the best of conditions for the Armenians." This, of course, is still another unique example of that impudent expression of the contemporary Turkish view about the annihilation of the Armenian people. The Ambassador is presently one of the active servants of anti-Soviet, anti-Russian policies of the United States government. He makes reference to an article written by one John Dewey that appeared in the *New Republic* which claimed that "Armenians, acting treacherously, were turning over to Russian invaders, Turkish cities and towns." Both the American writer, and the Turkish ambassador are assessing the development of historical facts through the anti-Soviet prism of U.S. imperialism and NATO. These people would be wise if they spent some time going through the National Archives in Washington, D.C., looking through the thousands of proofs that establish historical truth.

In its issue of May 2, the Parisian daily, *Le Monde* devoted almost a whole page to the issue of the Genocide of Western Armenians. This paper first noted the views of Mr. Claude Cheysson, Minister of Foreign Af-

fairs of France, who was quoted as saying, "Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire became the subjects of a Genocide, an act that France condemns. The evidence is there and always will be and no one has the right to either distort it or to encourage people to forget. The government of France regrets the position adopted by Turkey which continues to adamantly view these developments as an effort to crush an uprising instigated by Russian military advances." The French Minister also offers the view that the present government of Turkey should not feel responsible for the tragedy that struck the Armenian people some 60 years ago.

#### MORE FALSEHOODS BY THE TURKS

On the same page, *Le Monde* featured an article by Adnan Bulak, Turkey's ambassador in France, under the general heading of "Turkish View," and with the title "In the Service of Outside Interests." In this article, the Turkish ambassador emerges in the role of a defense attorney as he tries to conceal the cannibalism of the Young Turks. He discusses the necessity for the relocation of Armenians from the border areas and their resettlement in Syria, yet conveniently forgets to let his French readers know that Adnan Bulak and Brousa, Ankara and Malatia, Kharpert, Kayseri, Arapkir and Van were not situated in the border areas, yet were subjected to destructive blows. There is no need to focus on his claims which have no sound basis. No one expects anything more than that from the spokesmen of the present military junta. Isn't it true that, as stated in the May, 1983 issue of *Vie Ouvriere*, a French publication, that "the present repression of Kurds in certain areas is tantamount to another genocide?"

These ambassadors and their cohorts must be reminded that in 1918, 1919, coverage and evidence appearing in Turkish and American newspapers clearly recognizes the true history of the events of the tragic past.

As early as September 1916, at the convention held in Constantinople by the Ittihad party, discussed were the abuses by certain officials relative to the deportation of Armenians. Talaat and his associates attempted to portray everything in light of the Armenians' pro-Russian stance, the uprising against the central government and their cooperation with the Russian armies. Despite these justifications, the scope of the crime was so overwhelming, and its echo to the outside world so far-reaching that the Convention chose to note the excesses committed against Armenians, and decided to immediately dispatch investigative committees to those areas. The decision was followed by the publication, prompted by Talaat Pasha, of a pamphlet containing nothing but falsehoods and called "The Truth of the Armenian Revolutionary Movement and the Measures Taken by the Government, 1916." The purpose of the publication of this booklet served only to justify the actions of the government. Yet, at the end of 1918, soon after the defeat in World War I of the Ottoman Empire, incriminating documents surfaced right in Constantinople, in the Turkish Parliament that had remained subservient to the military machine of the Young Turks, and in the Turkish press, all of which shed light on the dark phases of the crime committed. Subsequently, certain leaders of the Young Turks movement were brought to trial at military tribunals. The newspapers of November and December of 1918 were full of articles which provided a wealth of evidence aimed at bringing out the whole truth. Pub-

lished in the Turkish press were the texts of anti-Armenian decrees and directives issued by Talaat, Behaeddin Shakir, Nazim. One of these clearly said: "Follow to the 'T' the orders given to you for the massacres of the Armenians." (*Jamanak*, November 12, 1918). In the same issue of the paper also quoted an poem that had been presented as an order to the governors. This is what it said:

Let no weapon fire,  
Let no soldier do  
Let no Armenian be left  
Adults be butchered  
Young maidens be selected  
Deport the remaining.

Mr. LEVIN, Mr. President, I am also sorry to report that the Senate's Armenian Martyrs Day recognition bill, Senate Resolution 87, introduced by Senator TSONGAS, and which I cosponsored, also met a legislative roadblock, which will be described by Senator TSONGAS later this morning.

Mr. President, such State Department misstatements of facts were why I, along with Senator WILSON of California, introduced last year a bipartisan resolution to reaffirm the historical realities of the Armenian genocide—Senate Resolution 241, a resolution expressing the sense of the Senate that the foreign policy of the United States should take account of the genocide of the Armenian people. With 27 cosponsors on this measure and additional cosponsors on a similar House measure, House Resolution 171, let us give notice to the State Department and the Government of Turkey that our voices will not be stilled.

There must be a constant struggle to fight against these efforts, which last year included a letter to Members of Congress from the Turkish Ambassador in Washington urging us not to speak on Martyrs Day because commemorating the so-called Armenian massacre, would have a "potentially adverse impact on United States-Turkish relations. \* \* \*". Such threats did not stop 86 Senators and Representatives from recognizing Armenian Martyrs Day last year.

Mr. President, the historical record of the Armenian genocide and the role of the Turkish Ottoman Government is both exhaustive and overwhelming. A brief review of that history will reveal that, in 1915, the distinguished U.S. Ambassador of the Ottoman Empire, Henry Morgenthau, acting on instructions from the Secretaries of State William Jennings Bryan and Robert Lansing, organized and led protests by all nations, among them Turkey's allies, over what Ambassador Morgenthau referred to as Turkey's program of "race extermination."

Ambassador Morgenthau telegraphed the following to the Secretary of State on July 16, 1915:

Deportation of and excesses against peaceful Armenians is increasing and from harrowing reports of eye witnesses it appears that a campaign of race extermination is in



progress under a pretext of reprisal against rebellion.

Ambassador Morgenthau wrote the following in his book, "Ambassador Morgenthau's Story":

When the Turkish authorities gave the orders for these deportations, they were merely giving the death warrant to a whole race; they understood this well and in their conversations with me, they made no particular attempt to conceal the fact.

I am confident that the whole history of the human race contains no such horrible episode as this. The great massacres and persecutions of the past seem almost insignificant when compared to the sufferings of the Armenian race in 1915.

So wrote our Ambassador to Turkey.

Mr. President, in 1920, the Armenian genocide was confirmed by the U.S. Senate in a resolution which read, in part:

The testimony adduced at the hearings by the subcommittee of the Senate Committee of Foreign Relations have clearly established the truth of the reported massacres and other atrocities from which the Armenian people have suffered.

More recently, during a 1979 U.N. debate on the Armenian genocide, the United States voted to include the Armenian genocide in a report entitled "Study of the Question of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide."

On April 30, 1981, the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council voted unanimously to include the Armenian genocide in its planned memorial to victims of the Holocaust.

Former President Carter said in 1978:

... (T)here was a concerted effort made to eliminate all the Armenian people. ...

And, in a proclamation honoring victims of the Holocaust, President Reagan said in 1981:

Like the genocide of the Armenians before it ... the lessons of the Holocaust must never be forgotten.

The record of historical archives and of U.S. policy relative to the Armenian genocide is clear—so clear that I find it difficult to understand what blinds the State Department to the historical facts as we know them to be.

With the support of the Congress, we can foresee construction of a Holocaust Museum in Washington, in which the Armenian genocide will be focused on and remembered; we can foresee passage of a resolution which expresses the sense of the Senate that the foreign policy of the United States should take account of the genocide of the Armenian people; we can foresee passage of a resolution designating April 24, 1985—1 year from today—as a national day of remembrance for victims of genocide, especially the 1.5 million Armenian martyrs, without any interference from the State Department; and we can finally, finally, foresee Senate ratification of the International Genocide Convention Treaty in order to, once and for all,

outlaw the crime of genocide. I might add that my good friend from Wisconsin, Senator PROXMIRE, has long been the leader in the effort to win passage of this treaty. This would be a long-overdue U.S. commemorative to the killing and suffering of the 1.5 million Armenians the world let down.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a paper written and delivered by the distinguished Prof. Richard G. Hovannissian of UCLA at the World Affairs Council in Pittsburgh last year entitled "The Armenian Case: Toward A Just Solution"—which eloquently and scholarly outlines the steps required to resolve peacefully the burning issues which remain unresolved between the Armenian people and the Turkish Government—be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### THE ARMENIAN QUESTION: IN SEARCH OF A JUST SOLUTION

(By Richard G. Hovannissian)

Since the destruction of the Armenian people in the Ottoman Turkish Empire earlier in this century, new international crisis and conflicts have pushed the Armenian question from the consciousness of most opinion and policy making bodies. In cases where that consciousness has been sustained or revived because of special circumstances, policymakers have usually deemed it impolitic to address the issue, although taking care sometimes to lull the Armenians with words extolling their virtues as a proud, industrious, enduring, honest people.

The Armenians and the Armenian question are still remembered, of course, by some students of history and politics, by some well-read individuals, and especially by some elder citizens who recall that as children they made Sunday School offerings or else were forced by their parents to clean their plates with the admonition, "Remember the Starving Armenians." Yet, the ranks of these individuals have thinned and the public today is largely unaware of the Armenians and their national tragedy. This is not to say that Armenians have not tried to keep the public informed. For decades the survivors of genocide labored in a score of countries to pick up the pieces, to build new churches and cultural institutions to remind them of their lost homeland, and to preserve new generations in the face of strong, external assimilative pressures. They mourned their dead each year in April, the month marking the beginning of the deportations and massacres of 1915, and they wrote petitions to public officials, governments, and international bodies, but without significant, tangible results. They learned repeatedly that the success or failure of a cause had little to do with what they considered to be the concepts of political morality and justice.

But beginning in the 1970's, an unexpected phenomenon pushed the Armenian name back into print and not always in a positive light—much to the consternation of image-conscious Armenians. Coming forth with names such as the "Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia" and the "Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide", small, clandestine groups emerged outside the established Armenian community and initiated a course of politi-

cal violence against Turkish officials, demanding recognition and recompense for the Armenian genocide from a still unrepentant government. Initially, there was doubt that the perpetrators were actually Armenian, but recent revelations leave little room for doubt.

All indications point to a decade of increased confrontation and bloodshed unless men of good will and particularly the two most interested parties, the Turkish government and the Armenian people, move to ease tension and prepare the way for a dialogue. During the first half century after the genocide, successive Turkish governments tried to remain silent or simply to dismiss the massacres. Recently there has been an apparent change in strategy. The Armenian challenges, rather than causing the Turkish government to cease attempts to conceal the horrendous skeleton in its closet, seem to have prompted an even more adamant stand, as well as an active counter-campaign of denial, refutation, and vilification. One may conjecture that Turkish strategists believe that the ability to reject Armenian claims for a few more decades will be rewarded with the disappearance of the Armenian question.

After all, time will have pushed the genocide into a previous century, all the eyewitnesses and survivors will have passed from the scene, and the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the survivors will have been engulfed by assimilation with increasing rapidity. Yet, such calculations would be fraught with great risks and grave consequences, not excluding violent upheaval before such an end were achieved. Conversely, for the Armenians, it is a matter of life and death as they continue to be denied self-determination and are faced with cultural disintegration and loss of national identity.

Hence, it must be asked, Is there a reasonable, pacific answer to the Armenian question? Is there room for a dialogue? Is it possible that the interested sides can face a tragic, burning historical event and deal with it? Is there any way out of the obsession of one side with the past and the obsession of the other side with the denial of the past? Or must the future be abandoned to extremism and unbridled violence?

It is perhaps fitting in this connection to say a few words about Armenian history. Although tracing their lineage, according to epical-biblical traditions, to Noah, whose ark was said to have rested on Mount Ararat, the Armenian people actually passed through a long era of formation and emerged as a nation in the sixth century before Christ, in the great highlands between the Caspian, Black, and Mediterranean Seas, in an area now referred to as Eastern Anatolia and Transcaucasia, on both sides of the current Soviet-Turkish frontier. For the next two thousand years, they were led by their kings, nobles, and patriarchs, sometimes independently and often under the sway of powerful, neighboring empires of the East and of the West. Located on perhaps the most strategic and coveted crossroads of the ancient and medieval worlds, the Armenians not only managed to survive and thrive but also to develop a rich, distinctive culture by maintaining a delicate balance between Orient and Occident.

As the first people to adopt Christianity as the state religion, in about 301 A.D., the Armenians were often persecuted for their faith by fanatic invaders and alien overlords. By the end of the fourteenth century, the last Armenian kingdom had collapsed,

the nobility had been decimated in constant warfare, and the Armenian plateau had fallen under foreign subjugation. Most of the country ultimately came under Ottoman Turkish rule, while the eastern sector came first under Persian and then in the nineteenth century under Russian domination.

In the Ottoman Empire, which pressed to the gates of Vienna in the seventeenth century, the Armenians were included in a multinational and multireligious realm, but as a Christian minority they had to endure official discrimination and second-class citizenship. Inequality, including special taxes, the inadmissibility of legal testimony, and the prohibition on bearing arms, was the price paid to maintain their religion and sense of community. This is not to say that there were not prosperous merchants, traders, and artisans throughout the empire, even though most of the Armenian population remained rooted in its historic homeland, becoming, for the most part, tenant farmers or share-croppers under a dominant Muslim feudal-military elite.

Despite their disabilities, the Armenians lived in relative peace so long as the Ottoman Empire was strong and expanding. But as the Ottoman administrative, financial, and military structure crumbled under internal corruption and external European challenges in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, intolerance and exploitation increased, contributing to rebellions among the Christian peoples of the Balkans who won their freedom from the Turks with some European support. The Armenian situation, however, was different. Armenia was located far to the east, and nearly half of the Armenian population lived in areas outside their historic provinces. Under these circumstances, Armenian aspirations were directed toward egalitarian reforms and civil rights—that is, change within the system. The articulation of Armenian programs or reform, however, came at a time of heightened anarchy and oppression. Marauding nomadic tribal groups spread havoc throughout the region, the central government becoming unable or unwilling to guarantee the security of family, home, and property.

And each time the European Powers attempted to intercede for their own reasons, the Armenians suffered still greater persecution. In the reign of Sultan Abdul-Hamid II, 1876-1909, countless thousands were massacred in pogroms intended to intimidate the Armenians and discourage them from seeking European intercession or trying to follow the path of the Balkan Christians. Despairing of legal reforms, some Armenians began to organize resistance groups in the last decade of the nineteenth century, but the effectiveness of these nascent revolutionary societies was limited in fact of the sultan's mechanisms for suppression.

It is understandable, therefore, that the Armenians, perhaps more than any other minority group, rejoiced at the Young Turk revolution in 1908, which ushered in constitutional government and a year later sent Abdul-Hamid into exile. It was a time of optimism. Liberty and constitution were in the air. It was believed that the new leaders of the Ottoman Empire were committed to saving the realm through liberal reforms and the extension of equality to all Ottoman subjects regardless of religion and nationality.

One of the most interesting and, for the Armenians, tragic metamorphoses in

modern history was the process from 1908 to 1914 in which the seemingly liberal, egalitarian Young Turks were transformed into xenophobic nationalists bent on creating a new order and eliminating the Armenian question by eliminating the Armenian people. Taken advantage of by the European powers and courted by Kaiserian Germany, the Turkish government was seized in 1913 by Young Turk extremists, who were drawn to the newly articulated ideology of Turkism. The exclusivist principles of Turkism were to supplant the goal of Ottomanism and give justification to violent, brutal means to transform a multinational, multireligious realm into a homogeneous state based on the concept of one nation—one people. According to Helen Fein, "Accounting for Genocide," "The victims of twentieth-century premeditated genocide—the Jews, the Gypsies, the Armenians—were murdered in order to fulfill the state's design for a new order . . . War was used in both cases to transform the nation to correspond to the ruling elite's formula by eliminating groups conceived of as alien, enemies by definition."

The outbreak of World War I indeed placed the Armenians in extreme jeopardy, since their lands and people were situated on both sides of the Russo-Turkish frontier and would become the inevitable victims in any military action in that region. But the Turkish dictatorship headed by Minister of War Enver and Minister of Interior Talaat had already committed the Ottoman Empire to war against Russia in secret treaties with Germany. Yet Enver's anticipated swift victory in Transcaucasia was not attained and, failing miserably in the winter campaign of 1914-1915, he slipped back into the capital in humiliation, although claiming impressive military successes. The failure of the campaign, together with the Allied landings on the Gallipoli peninsula in the spring of 1915, may have eliminated any remaining hesitation to execute the plan to remove the Armenian population from one end of the empire to the other.

Claiming that the Armenians were untrustworthy, that they could offer aid and comfort to the enemy, and that they were in a state of imminent nationwide rebellion, Minister of Interior Talaat Pasha ordered their deportation from the war zones to relocation centers—actually the deserts of Syria and Mesopotamia. And in fact the Armenians were driven out, not only from the war zones, but from the width and breadth of the empire, except Constantinople (Istanbul) and Smyrna (Izmir), where foreign diplomats and merchants were concentrated. The whole of Asia Minor was put in motion. Armenians serving in the Ottoman armies had already been segregated into unarmed labor battalions and were now taken out in batches and murdered. Of the remaining population, the adult and teenage males were, as a pattern, swiftly separated from the deportation caravans and killed outright under the direction of the gendarmerie, young Turk agents, and bandit and nomadic groups prepared for the task. The greatest torment was reserved for the women and children who were driven for weeks over mountains and deserts, often dehumanized by being stripped naked and repeatedly preyed upon and abused. Many took their own and their children's lives by flinging themselves from cliffs and into rivers rather than prolonging their humiliation and torment.

In this manner an entire nation melted away and the Armenian people was effec-

tively eliminated from its homelands of nearly three thousand years. Of the survivors and refugees scattered throughout the Arab provinces and Transcaucasia, thousands more were to die of starvation, epidemic, and exposure, and even the memory of the nation was intended for obliteration as churches and monuments were desecrated and small children, snatched from their parents, were renamed and farmed out to be raised as Turks. Herbert Adams Gibbons described the process as "The Blackest Page of Modern History", whereas Henry Morgenthau, the United States Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire at that time wrote: "When the Turkish authorities gave the orders for these deportations they were merely giving the death warrant to a whole race; they understood this well, and, in their conversations with me, they made no particular attempt to conceal the fact," Morgenthau continued.

"I have by no means told the most terrible details, for a complete narration of the sadistic orgies of which these Armenian men and women were the victims can never be printed in an American publication. Whatever crimes the most perverted instincts of the human mind can devise, and whatever refinements of persecutions and injustice the most debased imagination can conceive, became the daily misfortunes of this devoted people. I am confident that the whole history of the human race contains no such horrible episode as this. The great massacres and persecutions of the past seem almost insignificant when compared to the sufferings of the Armenian race in 1915."

While the decimation of the Armenian people and the destruction of millions of persons in Central and Eastern Europe during the Nazi regime a quarter of a century later each had particular and unique features, historians and sociologists who have pioneered the field of victimology have drawn some startling parallels. These include the perpetration of genocide under the cover of a major international conflict, thus minimizing the possibility of external intervention; conception of the plan by a monolithic and megalomaniac regime; espousal of an ideology giving purpose and justification to chauvinism, racism, and intolerance toward elements resisting or deemed unworthy of assimilation; imposition of strict party discipline and secrecy during the period of preparation; formation of extralegal special armed forces to ensure the rigorous execution of the operation; provocation of public hostility toward the victim group and ascribing to it the very excesses to which it would be subject; certainty of the vulnerability of the intended prey (demonstrated in the Armenian case in the previous general massacres of 1894-1896 and 1909), exploitation of advances in mechanization and communication (the telegraph) to achieve unprecedented means of control, coordination, and thoroughness; and use of sanctions such as promotions and the incentive to loot, plunder, and vent passions without restraint or, conversely, the dismissal and punishment of reluctant officials and the intimidation of persons who might consider harboring members of the victim group.

In the West, the Armenian genocide evoked sentiments of sympathy and outrage. The Allied Powers declared collectively, "In view of this new crime of Turkey against humanity and civilization, the Allied Governments make known publicly that they will hold all members of the Turkish Government, as well as those officials who



have participated in these massacres, personally responsible." French officials echoed British Prime Minister Lloyd George's view that after the war the peace settlement should guarantee "the redemption of the Armenian valleys forever from the bloody misrule with which they had been stained by the infamies of the Turk." In the United States the hand of charity was extended across the ocean, to keep alive as many of the survivors as possible and to help the Armenian people escape complete obliteration. Leaders of both parties and all branches of government called for the restoration of the survivors to their ancestral lands and the safeguarding of their collective existence, whereas President Wilson's celebrated Fourteen Points offered the Armenians "an undoubted security of life and absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development."

This, too, was the attitude of the Paris Peace Conference, which declared at its opening in January 1919, that because of Turkish misgovernment and massacres, Armenia and the Arab provinces would be completely severed from the Turkish empire. In pleading the case of the defeated empire, the new Turkish prime minister tried to deflect the guilt by pointing an accusing finger at the small clique that had perverted the government, admitting nonetheless that there had occurred "misdeeds which are such as to make the conscience of mankind shudder forever." In reply, the Allied Powers, drawing attention to the massacres "whose calculated atrocity equals or exceeds anything in recorded history," rejected any attempt to minimize or circumvent the crime. Sent out from Paris on a fact-finding mission to the Armenian provinces, American Major General James G. Harbord confirmed that "mutilization, violation, torture, and death have left their haunting memories in a hundred beautiful Armenian valleys, and the traveler in that region is seldom free from the evidence of this most colossal crime of all the ages".

Yet, ironically, despite all the words and evidence, the "conscience of mankind" did not shudder for long before this "most colossal crime of all the ages." It is true that in 1920 the Allies finally imposed the Treaty of Sevres upon the sultan's government, creating on paper a moderately sized united Armenian republic, but, recoiling from the burdens of the world war, the European Powers and the United States proved unwilling to shoulder the moral and material responsibilities to execute the peace and to restore the Armenian people to their homeland and help them build a free nation. Rather, after the successful rise and consolidation of the Turkish Nationalist movement under Mustafa Kemal, the European Powers bowed to political, economic, and military expediency in the treaties of Lausanne in 1923 and turned away from the miserable Armenians and the Armenian question. The refugees were barred from returning home, and, except for those who settled in the small Armenian state that had been created in Transcaucasia in 1918 and (forcibly) sovietized in 1920, remained dispersed throughout the Middle East, Europe, and America.

The passage of time and the strategic geopolitical position assigned to Turkey in the calculations of the world powers further removed the Armenian issue from the realm of international diplomacy. A new generation of politicians, correspondents, and academics lost interest in the Armenians—perhaps the fate of most losers in history.

Some gradually began to rationalize the existence of the Republic of Turkey within its given boundaries by tending to rationalize the events that had led to this eventuality. Whether because of naïveté, assumed objectivity, or self interests, a few even introduced the adjectives "alleged" and "asserted" in reference to the Armenian massacres, even though their own newspaper files and national archives were replete with the awesome evidence of the systematic annihilation. Perhaps Adolf Hitler had good cause in 1939 to declare, according to the Nuremberg trial transcripts, "Who, after all, speaks today of the extermination of the Armenians."

But unlike the Armenian case, the atrocities of World War II did not pass unrequited, nor have they been allowed to blur in public awareness and international relations. Hundreds of persons charged with crimes against humanity were brought to trial and punished, and the Federal Republic of Germany, while denouncing and disassociating itself from the erstwhile Nazi regime, nonetheless accepted the burden of collective guilt and made recompense to the survivors, the families of the murdered millions, and the governments having a special relationship with the victimized groups. By contrast, the Ankara government has, ever since the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, refused to acknowledge the criminal actions taken against the Armenian people. Perhaps it is the strength of the moral claims against Turkey that has made that government all the more unwilling to accept those claims, afraid that acknowledgment of a major historical transgression could then lead to pressures to make reparations and possibly even partial territorial restitution.

In recent years, therefore, the Ankara government, aroused by renewed efforts of the dispersed Armenian communities to challenge the erasure of the Armenian case, has intensified efforts to keep the issue from again becoming a topic of international diplomacy or even from being mentioned in international bodies.

A concerted high level campaign was launched to expunge only a passing reference to the Armenian massacres in a United Nations' subcommission draft report. Turkish academic personnel and institutions and a few non-Turkish academics have been used to give a scholarly semblance to the regrettable goal to deny and obscure the genocide. Strong diplomatic pressures and military considerations have been employed in attempts to prevent the erection of Armenian memorials, the participation of foreign dignitaries at Armenian commemorative observances, the preparation of motion pictures and other media productions relating to the genocide, and the inclusion of the Armenian experience in the Holocaust Museum being planned for Washington, D.C.

Speaking before the Los Angeles World Affairs Council in November, 1982, Turkish Ambassador Sukru Elekdogan, declared: "The accusations that Ottoman Turks, sixty-five years ago, during World War I, perpetrated systematic massacre of the Armenian population in Turkey, to annihilate them and to seize their homeland, is totally baseless." And a recent Turkish publication from Washington, D.C., entitled "Setting the Record Straight on Armenian Propaganda Against Turkey" begins as follows: "In recent years claims have been made by some Armenians in Europe, America, and elsewhere that the Armenians suffered terrible

misrule in the Ottoman Empire. Such claims are absurd." A few pages later, we read: "There was no genocide committed against the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire before or during World War I. No genocide was planned or ordered by the Ottoman government and no genocide was carried out. Recent scholarly research has discovered that the stories of massacres were in fact largely invented by Armenian nationalist leaders in Paris and London during World War I and spread throughout the world through the British intelligence."

One should not be surprised if the United States Department of State, whose own archives contain voluminous materials on the deportations and massacres, will find it expedient tacitly to foster this type of falsification by acknowledging the receipt of such publications with thanks or by maintaining a telling silence. It is no novelty that expediency frequently reigns over morality in politics, but it seems to me that it is also no novelty that humanitarians and statesmen must strive toward truth and justice.

Is there any solution to this problem or is there only the prospect of heightened frustration, increased extremism, and explosive confrontation? I cannot be very optimistic. Yet, the narrowest avenues of hope cannot be abandoned, and the Turkish government should be assisted in seeing that its own national interests require a mitigation of its adamant position. The public, too, such as this very audience, must be brought to understand that this and like issues are not just old world feuds and smoldering ancient animosities having no bearing on today's realities. They are fundamental matters of national conduct and human rights.

What is it that the Armenians seek? Obviously, there are various gradations in their desiderata, so let me read what the most politically-active and strongly-nationalistic groups say:

"1. The toleration of genocide and its acceptance as a "solution" to any problem leads only to its repeated use, just as the world's indifference to the Armenian Genocide and its aftermath led Hitler to cite it as a precedent and justification for his own crimes. The use of Genocide as an instrument of national policy, by any nation at any time, is a crime against all Humanity, and it must be universally condemned. There can be no statute of limitations on Genocide, and the genocidal state should be denied the territorial, material, or political fruits of Genocide.

"2. The Eastern provinces of what is today called Turkey had been Armenian lands for two thousand years before the Turkish armies even entered that part of the world. Despite the murder and expulsion of the proprietor Armenian population, these territories remain no less Armenian today and must be returned to the rightful owners, the Armenian people.

"3. As long as Armenians remain in forced exile from their ancestral heartland, subject to cultural assimilation and often more direct pressures and as long as the handful of Armenians remaining in Turkey are harassed into cultural oblivion, then the genocidal act initiated in 1915 continues. It will cease only when Armenians again occupy their own lands and control their own destiny."

Many would regard these demands as being maximalist, and would, through discussion and compromise, stand at intermediate positions. Indeed, the one demand that is shared universally by Armenians of all walks of life and at all stages of accultura-

tion is for an admission of wrongdoing and the extension of recognition and dignity to the hundreds of thousands of victims whose very memory the Turkish authorities and the rationalizing revisionists would eliminate. Underlying the search for a solution to the Armenian question is the word "dialogue". It is in dialogue that the beginning of a long and difficult process aimed at ultimate resolution might be achieved. It is not a step without serious risks, and it requires enormous courage.

The Turkish government should be encouraged by its friends and allies to take the necessary first step toward the initiation of dialogue. The enervating and harmful malaise of Armeno-Turkish alienation can and must be surmounted. Every person present can assist in that reconciliation through concern for the truth and the rights of peoples to live beyond the specter of genocide and cultural oblivion. Yet, until the elusive, auspicious step toward reconciliation is actually taken, the Armenian people will have no choice but to reiterate time and again George Santayana's admonition, "Those who do not remember the past are condemned to relive it".

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that paper written and delivered by Hagop Martin Deranian, D.D.S., of Worcester, MA, at the Armenian Rugs Society Symposium in New York in 1982 entitled "Calvin Coolidge and the Armenian Orphan Rug"—a moving story of how 400 Armenian orphan girls in Lebanon, victims of the genocide, wove a beautiful oriental rug which was presented to President Coolidge as a symbol of thanks for the efforts of the United States to help relieve the suffering of survivors of the genocide—be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CALVIN COOLIDGE AND THE ARMENIAN ORPHAN RUG

(Hagop Martin Deranian, D.D.S.)

A shy, silent, New England Republican, President Calvin Coolidge led the United States during the boisterous jazz age of the Roaring 1920's.

It was a time of great prosperity which stimulated carefree behavior and a craving for entertainment. The nation's "flaming youth" featured in the novels of F. Scott Fitzgerald set the pace. Motion pictures began to talk with Al Jolson starring in "The Jazz Singer." America defied Prohibition and gangsters grew rich by bootlegging liquor. A popular song summed up the whole era—"Ain't We Got Fun?"

Coolidge was the sixth vice president to become President upon the death of a Chief Executive. Coolidge was vacationing on his father's farm in Vermont when President Warren G. Harding died in 1923.

Early in the morning of August 3, 1923, by the light of a kerosene lamp, the elder Coolidge, a notary public, administered the oath of office in the dining room. After that, President Coolidge went back to bed—and slept. Years afterward, when asked to recall his first thoughts in becoming President, he replied—"I thought I could swing it." Time proved that he was right.

In November 1924, Coolidge was elected to a full four year term. He enjoyed great popularity and people cherished him for having

the virtues of their forefathers. His reputation for wisdom was based on his dry wit and robust common sense. He issued few unnecessary public statements and rarely wasted a word, even sitting silently through official dinners. At one social affair in Washington, a woman told him she had bet that she could get more than two words out of him. Coolidge dryly replied, "You lose."

By utter and stark contrast, a half world away from America in what we call Lebanon today, the life of a Swiss Protestant missionary, Jacob Kuenzler, was destined to touch that of President Coolidge through the intermediacy of an oriental rug woven by destitute Armenian orphan girls.

"Papa" Kuenzler or Dr. Kuenzler, as he was known, was not really a doctor. A native of Switzerland, he found his vocation as a young man with the Brother Deacons, a Protestant Nursing Order. He joined a mission in Urfa, Turkey in 1895 and served the Armenian community in Turkey for 25 years during those appalling years.

In the early 1920's, the Kuenzlers began work for the Near East Relief Organization. They helped evacuate thousands of Armenian orphans from Turkey to the relative security of Syria. In the beautiful village of Ghazir, high up in the mountains about 40 miles north of Beirut, they were placed in charge of a large number of Armenian girls in an old monastery.

During the summer of 1923, a young Armenian lad appeared asking for work. He had been a student at the German orphanage in Urfa where he had learned how to dye wool. For some time, "Papa" Kuenzler nurtured the idea of starting a rug factory in Ghazir where the girls could learn the art of weaving rugs. He estimated that a thousand dollars would be sufficient to cover the initial expenses of buying materials and of setting up a few looms in one of the houses that the orphanage was renting. He wrote of his plans to the Near East Relief headquarters, which was spending ten dollars a month for the care of each of his orphans. Instead of a thousand dollars, headquarters sent him four hundred, which disappointed him but which did not discourage him. With only two looms he started what he called the Ghazir Rug Factory.<sup>1</sup>

It soon became a flourishing enterprise with the number of looms increasing first to twenty and finally to a hundred. Eventually a thousand girls learned to weave rugs and four hundred of these were awarded a certificate of proficiency. The original capital of four hundred dollars, grew to twenty-five thousand dollars.

"Papa" conceived the idea that his girls should weave a large rug and present it as a gift to The White House in recognition of the help which the American people had given to the Armenian orphans. A large loom was set up for a so-called "Isphahan" rug, measuring twenty-three square meters and containing four and a half million knots. Four hundred girls, working in turns, spent many months on its completion. It was then sent to Washington.

The presentation of the rug was prominently reported in the December 3, 1925 issue of the New York Times under the heading: "President Receives Rug Woven by Orphans of Near East and Praises Work on Relief."

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Ida Alamuddin, the Kuenzler's daughter, whose book, "Papa Kuenzler and the Armenians" records the story of the Ghazir Rug Factory.

"A committee of the Near East Relief today presented to President Coolidge at the White House one Isphahan rug woven for him by Armenian orphans in the Near East Relief Orphanage in Syria, as a token of their appreciation of America's part in preserving their lives. An inscription on the reverse side of the rug reads: 'Made by Armenian girls in the Ghazir, Syria orphanage of the Near East Relief and presented as a Golden Rule token of appreciation to President Coolidge.'"

"The presentation was made by John H. Finley, Vice-Chairman of the Near East Relief, who, in his speech said:

"Mr. President: Your words as to the observance of Golden Rule Sunday last year have gone out into all the earth, as the lines of which the Psalmist spoke. They have been especially appreciated by the orphan children back in the lands which we think of as the cradle of our civilization. Many grateful responses have come. But the most impressive is this beautiful rug which the children in the orphanage in the Lebanons have made for you. It seems to have in its memories of the trees and birds and beasts of the Garden of Eden."

"They began work on it as soon as your sympathetic words reach them. As only four girls could work at one time at the loom, they have been ten months making it and it has reached here just in time for the Golden Rule Sunday this year."

"What a task it was is to be known from the fact that they tied 4,404,247 knots in its making. But it was a labor of love. They have tied into it the gratitude of tens of thousands of children to you and to America. And what they have tied into it will never be untied."

"It is sent to adorn the dearest of our temples, the White House of our President."

In reply, President Coolidge tonight sent the following letter to Dr. Finley.

WHITE HOUSE, December 4, 1925.

"My Dear Dr. Finley: The beautiful rug woven by the children in the orphanage in the Lebanons has been received. This, their expression of gratitude for what we have been able to do in this country for their aid, is accepted by me as a token of their goodwill to the people of the United States, who have assisted in the work of the Near East Relief. Will you be good enough to extend to these orphans my thanks and the thanks of the vast number of our citizens whose generosity this labor of love is intended to acknowledge. The rug has a place of honor in the White House, where it will be a daily symbol of good-will on earth."

"Thank you, Dr. Finley, for your services in making this presentation and for the sentiment which went with it."

"Most sincerely yours,

CALVIN COOLIDGE."

The story does not end there. Some of the young girls who wove the rug were brought to America to work at a loom as a demonstration during the Sesquicentennial celebration of the founding of the United States in 1926.

The Department of Missions of the Episcopal Church arranged for the girls to shake hands with the President on November 4, 1926. It must have been an intensely emotional meeting, as is this whole matter of the Ghazir Rug. Afterward, the following letter was sent to the President's Secretary by Rev. Dr. William C. Erhardt:

"I thank you for your courtesy in arranging an interview with the President on Thursday last. You may assure the Presi-



dent of our appreciation of his kindness. I suppose this interview differed from the ordinary one, in that he was permitted to show his native kindness to little children, and thus give pleasure, rather than if the occasion demanded that he meet visitors in order to cater to the vanity of man."

The Near East Relief was an American act of compassion. When asked to intervene, the German Ambassador to Turkey said to the American Ambassador, Henry Morgenthau, "The United States is apparently the only country that takes much interest in the Armenians. Your Missionaries are their friends and your people have constituted themselves their guardians. The whole question of helping them is therefore an American matter."

Near East Relief was one of the largest philanthropic expeditions ever organized in its time. It was chartered by an act of Congress on August 6, 1919. Under the slogan of "Save the Armenians", Near East Relief collected \$91,000,000 in donations and \$25,000,000 for food and supplies during its 15 years of service. It healed and comforted millions of desperate people and rescued, fed and trained 132,000 orphan children. "No private enterprise," President Coolidge said, "ever undertaken by Americans has accomplished more to arouse, in the minds and hearts of all the people of the countries in which this organization has carried on its operations, a sincere regard and even affection for America."

Calvin Coolidge's briefest and most dramatic public statement occurred on August 2, 1927, when he simply announced, "I do not choose to run for President in 1928."

What happened to the rug woven by Armenian orphans after 1928 is somewhat speculative. Apparently, Coolidge took it with him when he left the White House. In 1930, he bought an estate in Northampton, Massachusetts, called "The Beeches" and it may have been used in one of its 12 rooms. He also maintained his boyhood home in Plymouth, Vermont, where he summered.

Soon after Calvin Coolidge's death in 1933, Mrs. Coolidge sold "The Beeches" and moved to another home in Northampton, Massachusetts where she lived until the year of her death in 1957.

The Coolidge's surviving son, John, graduated from Amherst College, his father's alma mater, and lived in Farmington, Connecticut. Mr. Coolidge, who is now 76 years of age, maintains a home in the ancestral village of Plymouth, Vermont, where he resides from May to October.

Dr. and Mrs. P. Vahé Haig of California<sup>2</sup> and others, have shared the dream that the rug would one day be returned to our nation's capital.

I visited the Coolidge Homestead in Plymouth, Vermont recently and even though I could not see John Coolidge personally, I wrote to him afterward about the rug which was not on public view. I am thrilled to share with you his response in a letter to me dated September 14, 1982: "You may be interested to learn that the White House is interested in obtaining the rug and we are sending it there."

This treasured and symbolic rug will once again "adorn the dearest of our temples, the White House of our President," after an absence of over five decades.

There it will serve as a silent and ongoing reminder of that hour in American history

which represents, to me, the height of its fulfillment as a nation of good-will and compassion. At the same time, it will serve as a memorial to those orphans whose nimble, yet sad, fingers wove into its warp and weft a permanent remembrance of the depths of Armenia's blackest hour.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, every April 24, Armenians all over the world reflect on the proud heritage and rich culture—from the time of St. Gregory the Illuminator, who led Armenia to become the first Christian nation of the world in A.D., 301 to the present, where Armenians make important contributions to the world of business, philanthropy, academia, the arts and sciences, and yes, politics. It is through such reflections that we are able to appreciate the reasons which have kept the Armenian people so vital a community and so valuable a part of our Nation.

While the survivors of the genocide mourn their lost ones, they also must pass along their stories of tragedy so that the memory of those who perished are not forgotten by the world. The martyrs live on through them—through each and all of us who remember. Those of the younger generation should never forget the sacrifice of the ancestors. They, also, should never forget the rich culture which has contributed so much to the world community. And together, they should perpetuate the story of the Armenian people and share its lessons with all the people of the world. Only in that way can some of the suffering of the genocide be redeemed.

#### VICTIMS OF ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

● Mr. TSONGAS. Mr. President, today I am joining my distinguished colleague, the Senator from Michigan, in paying homage to the victims of the Armenian genocide. April 24 is a deeply important day for people of Armenian ancestry. Each year on this day, Armenians remember the 1.5 million of their brethren murdered in Ottoman Turkey between 1915 and 1923. They remember the 500,000 Armenians who survived the forced exile during which others were starved, tortured, and killed. They know that Armenian-Americans still alive today were among these valiant survivors. The depth of feeling with which Armenians recall those 8 years can scarcely be put into words.

But the Armenian genocide has a profound importance that extends beyond any one people. It was the first of several genocides perpetrated in this century. Far too little public attention was paid it, despite extensive news accounts emerging from Turkey even as it happened, and many subsequent accounts by observers and historians. Had the world swiftly and fully awakened to the horror of the Armenian genocide, who knows how much earlier we might have recognized the true face of Hitler's "final solution?"

The lesson of the Armenian genocide, like that of the Holocaust, still beckons: we have a moral obligation to ingrain history into our memory and understanding. Only in this way can we pay true homage to the victims of genocide—by seeking to keep history from being repeated.

The dangers of denying historical atrocities are enormous. In the 69 years since the beginning of the Armenian genocide, we have periodically heard denials. Voices have whispered in our ears that, no, 1.5 million did not die; that those who did die were not innocent victims but combatants; that those who killed them were not doing so according to any plan for racial extermination. Such voices are often superficially persuasive. When they grow insistent, we are tempted to give them credence. But we must not. Every claim they make is false. From the time the killings began, the exact nature and extent of the genocide was an indisputable and documented fact. Today we still hear voices, but we must resist them with all our strength. Our children are relying on us.

In this body, testimony before the Committee on Foreign Relations held after the First World War included abundant evidence of the genocide. Henry Morgenthau, our Ambassador in Constantinople, filed frequent and detailed dispatches documenting the genocide, including one stating that "a campaign of race extermination is in progress" against the Armenians. First-person accounts and news reports bore out such assertions again and again.

Because of my conviction that a greater effort is needed to bring the Armenian genocide into the public consciousness, and that the victims and circumstances of any genocide cannot too often be remembered, I introduced a resolution last year that would have designated today as a day of remembrance for all victims of genocide, especially those of Armenian ancestry who died between 1915 and 1923. Senate Joint Resolution 87 was placed on the Senate Calendar on April 5. I regret to say that the resolution has been held from floor consideration on the Republican side. Over a third of the Senate has cosponsored the resolution, including 14 Republicans. I frankly do not see how anyone could object to such a simple act of homage to so many victims of genocide. Yet the day is here, and the resolution has not been released for consideration.

The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council has voted unanimously to give a place of prominence to the Armenian genocide in the Holocaust Museum here in Washington. This is fitting and an encouraging sign. Such a permanent memorial will help to raise public awareness of the events in

<sup>2</sup> I wish to express my thanks to Dr. and Mrs. Haig for sharing with me their research and correspondence concerning this rug.

Turkey during and after World War I. I give my unqualified support to this and all other efforts to further peace and understanding through public education—even, and indeed, especially, when that education comprises some of history's darkest episodes.

Mr. President, Armenians have set today aside as a day of remembrance. All the people of the world would do well to follow the example of their remembrance. We must commit ourselves to remembering the tragedy of the Armenian genocide. For the sake of the victims and the survivors. For the sake of their counterparts in Nazi Germany, Southeast Asia, and elsewhere. And for our own sake.●

#### COMMEMORATING THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

● Mr. WILSON. Mr. President, I am pleased to join my distinguished colleague from Michigan in cosponsoring a resolution which calls our attention to the 1.5 million Armenian men, women, and children who perished in the early part of this century as victims of an act of genocide.

This tragedy must continue to live in the memories and writings of man. We must make sure that this terrible event does not become clouded nor forgotten with the advance of history. We must keep this solemn memory of the past, in order to prevent other such tragedies in the future. Let this day of remembrance be a reminder to all generations of the criminal persecution of the Armenian people. Let us be instructed and admonished by the Polish writer Yashinsky, who survived a Nazi concentration camp only to die in a Russian camp: "Fear not your enemies for they can only kill you, fear not your friends for they can only betray you. Fear the indifferent who permit the killers and betrayers to walk safely on the Earth."●

#### ARMENIAN MARTYRS DAY

● Mr. GLENN. Mr. President, I rise today to join my colleagues in commemorating the 69th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide, the first but tragically not the last such atrocity of the 20th century. We all know the awful details, 1.5 million Armenians, men, women, and children, slain between 1915 and 1923 by the Ottoman Government of Turkey. We know from the reports of our own U.S. Ambassador Henry Morgenthau who wired the Secretary of State in July 1915:

Deportation of and excesses against peaceful Armenians is increasing and from harrowing reports of eye witnesses it appears that a campaign of race extermination is in progress under a pretext of reprisal against rebellion.

We know from the tragic reports of massacred families by those lucky enough to escape.

Today we commemorate those 1.5 million victims of the Armenian genocide. We cannot erase the horror that sears the collective soul of Armenians

wherever they might be. It is a tragedy that the crime of genocide has yet to be wiped from the face of the Earth. So let us remember the Armenian genocide victims by rededicating ourselves, as individuals and as a nation, to insuring that such a nightmare is never again visited on any people anywhere on this Earth. We can best serve their memory by preventing such inhumanity in the future, and by remembering, I pray, we will prevent it.●

#### COMMEMORATING ARMENIAN MARTYRS DAY

● Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, I join my colleagues today in commemorating the 69th anniversary of Armenian Martyrs Day.

The Armenian massacre of 1915 to 1923, the first genocide of this century, stands out because of its scope and brutality. One and a half million Armenian men, women, and children were killed and a half million survivors were forced to flee from their ancestral homeland.

I am a cosponsor of the resolution which designates April 24 as a day of remembrance for all victims of genocide, particularly those who perished in the Armenian massacre. The purpose of the resolution is to recognize, acknowledge, and denounce the atrocity against the Armenian people. Its intent is also to engrain in our memories this event as a small part of our effort to insure that genocide does not recur.

I deeply sympathize with those whose relatives were killed in the Armenian massacre. I understand their anguish, and I share their outrage that there are those who still deny that the massacre indeed took place. The facts of the Armenian massacre have been well documented and affirmed over the past six decades. To refute these facts is to perpetrate yet another crime against the Armenian people.

We cannot reverse events of the past. But it is possible and necessary that we learn from the brutal lesson of the Armenian genocide and do what we can to prevent a recurrence of the extermination of a people because of their nationality, race or religion.●

● Mr. PELL. Mr. President, today marks the 69th anniversary of the willful massacre of 1.5 million Armenians at the hands of the Turks during World War I. Senate Joint Resolution 87, introduced by my distinguished colleague, Senator TSONGAS, designates today as a day of remembrance for the victims of this heinous act. I am proud to be a cosponsor of this bill and to join with Armenians throughout the world in observing Armenian Martyrs Day.

Before World War I, Armenians, a gentle, highly cultured people, lived alongside the Turks and demanded only tolerance and freedom from their Turkish rulers. In response, the Turk-

ish Government launched a coordinated drive to round up and eliminate every Armenian man, woman, and child. Today, we honor those courageous individuals who were exterminated for no other reason than that their national heritage was considered alien by the Turkish leadership.

The Armenian genocide was a forerunner to another dark episode in the 20th century history of mankind: the Holocaust. The Holocaust is a sad reminder that those who forget history are condemned to repeat it. The Armenian genocide and the Holocaust show us that man possesses the pernicious quality of bigotry and the capacity to be cruel. We must never forget the despicable treatment suffered by the Armenians and the Jews at the hands of their fellow men. We must keep the memories of these solemn and painful events alive in order that history will not repeat itself yet again.

Genocide is the most heinous act that man can perpetrate against his fellow man. Yet, it was not until the Nazis slaughtered 6 million Jews that the world recognized genocide for what it is. In response to the Holocaust, the United Nations declared genocide a war crime. I am proud to say that my father, as U.S. Representative to the United Nations War Crimes Commission, played an instrumental role in convincing the State Department to take the position that genocide should be declared a war crime.

If we are truly concerned about eliminating the evil of genocide from the heart of mankind; if justice and compassion are values which we sincerely cherish; if the death of 1.5 million Armenians is to be more than a tragic footnote to our time; then we must not forget the brutal assault on human dignity which was the Armenian genocide.●

#### ARMENIAN MARTYRS DAY

● Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. President, today's commemoration of the anniversary of Armenian Martyrs Day is, I believe, one of the most important matters which merits the Senate's attention. Like all acts of inhumanity which scar the history of mankind, the Armenian genocide of 1915 must be remembered, and its lessons understood and appreciated.

We who join in this commemorative colloquy today on the Senate floor are guided by the words of Elie Wiesel: "To forget is to make oneself an accomplice of the executioner."

While the most valuable lessons of human experience are those learned from our mistakes, nothing can be learned from the mistakes that we fail to admit. The world's failure to acknowledge the Armenian genocide is a painful confirmation of this truism. A simple reading of history clearly shows that the Armenian genocide did



in fact provide Hitler with a precedent for his crimes—a genocide which took the lives of 6 million Jews and millions of other innocent people. Even today, as we note the 69th anniversary of the Armenian genocide, in which over 1½ million innocent men, women, and children lost their lives, the Turkish Government refuses to acknowledge the role of its predecessors in this atrocity.

Today I join with members of the Armenian community and the Congress in calling upon our Government to reaffirm the U.S. policy of recognizing the Armenian genocide, and, in so doing, encourage the long overdue acknowledgement by the Turkish Government of its role in the massacre. Only then will justice be brought to the Armenian community.

While we are powerless to alter the tragic events of the past, we can do much to shape the future. With the help of the Armenian people and all those whose lives have been touched by oppression, we must work to eliminate the injustice, torture and inhumanity which has been inflicted upon people whose only crime was the desire to live. As long as we allow circumstances to exist where people are denied their very right to exist, our civilization and our own humanity are very much in doubt.

Despite the pain of recalling the horrible details of the Armenian genocide, we must never forget. Those who do not know must be educated. Because for us, as a nation, to forget, and for others never to know, reduces our vigilance, masks the threat of repeated horrors and denies the victims of these crimes the dignity and memory they deserve. Only when we recognize the past violations of people's rights can we truly appreciate the necessity of treating others as individuals whose hopes and ambitions are as worthy as our own.

To insure that this and future generations of Americans remain sensitive to the horrors of the Armenian genocide, a memorial to its victims will be made a permanent part of the U.S. Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC. I applaud this effort.

Another important step in demonstrating our commitment to human rights and our understanding of the lessons of the genocides of the 20th century is the ratification of the Genocide Convention. For 34 years the convention has been before the community of nations. Conspicuously absent from the list of 88 nations which have ratified the convention is the United States, despite its role as a leading force for human rights.

Clearly the time has come for the world to recognize that the use of genocide as an instrument of national policy—by any nation at any time—is a crime against all mankind that must be universally condemned.●

#### THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

● Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, today we commemorate the 69th anniversary of Armenian Martyrs Day, the date on which the Turkish Government began its systematic annihilation of over a million Armenian people. The events of 1915 uprooted an entire nation, eliminating leaders and intellectuals, and scattering the remaining homeless survivors around the world.

We commemorate the Armenian genocide in part to pay tribute to its survivors and to the memory of its victims, and in part to reinforce our own determination to insure that such deeds will not be repeated. As citizens of a nation founded on the ideals of human dignity and freedom, we must make sure that we will never remain indifferent or impassive in the face of such assaults on the basic essence of our humanity.

The Armenian-American community has always played a vital role in our pluralistic, democratic society. Never has this been truer than it is today. Their contributions to the cultural, social, political and economic life of America is priceless and unique. Armenian-American Marylanders make daily contributions to the vitality and character of our State.

Centuries of oppression and persecution did not succeed in snuffing out the rich faith and traditions of the Armenian civilization. Americans of Armenian descent have kept alive their noble heritage, and in so doing have enriched the lives of all Americans. The memory of suffering so terrible has not led to bitterness or violence among the Armenians; instead it has strengthened faith and reinforced the commitment to justice and humane values.

The Armenian people, who have lived with tragedy, are committed to the proposition that the world will understand as they do the meaning of that tragedy. It has reinforced the wise and generous humanity which has found expression in the family, the church and the community. From this, our Nation has benefited.●

● Mr. METZENBAUM. Mr. President, I want to begin today by commending Senators LEVIN and TSONGAS for organizing what has now become an annual commemoration on the floor of the Senate of the massacre in Turkey early in this century of 1.5 million Armenians and the forced exile of half a million more.

The agony of the Armenians has been described as "the forgotten genocide."

It is not forgotten—not by us and not by the descendants of the survivors, many of whom will gather this weekend to remember and to reflect upon one of the greatest tragedies ever suffered by any nation. But, Mr. President, the pain of those memories is compounded by the sad fact that to

this day, the Turkish Government denies that the wholesale slaughter of the Armenians ever took place.

The facts are undeniable.

Before World War I, 2,500,000 Armenians lived in the Ottoman Empire most of them in the region that had for many centuries been the Armenian homeland. Today, fewer than 100,000 declared Armenians reside in Turkey.

What happened to them?

On May 27, 1915, the Ottoman authorities promulgated an edict of deportation against the Armenians.

Armenian men were driven from their homes and massacred by the tens of thousands.

Women, children, and old people were herded into the deserts of Syria. Those who did not die of starvation, exposure and disease became the victims of brigands and guards.

Henry Morgenthau, Ambassador to Turkey of the then neutral United States, states in his memoirs that there could be no doubt about the facts, or about Turkish intentions.

The American Ambassador wrote:

When the Turkish authorities gave the orders for these deportations, they were merely giving the death warrant to a whole race: They understood this well, and, in their conversations with me they made no particular attempt to conceal the fact.

I am confident that the whole history of the human race contains no such horrible episode as this. The great massacres and persecutions of the past seem almost insignificant when compared to the suffering of the Armenian race in 1915.

Ambassador Morgenthau was not the only foreign dignitary to speak out on the plight of the Armenians.

The New York Times reported on October 11, 1915, that Pope Benedict XV "has written an autograph letter to the Sultan of Turkey interceding for the unfortunate people."

On October 22, 1915, the Times reported that:

Confidential advice received today by the State Department said the German Government had officially made efforts to alleviate alleged atrocities upon Armenians in Turkey, but that Turkish officials apparently displayed lack of interest in such endeavors.

Germany was, of course, Ottoman Turkey's most important wartime ally and would hardly have cooperated in any effort to defame the Turkish Government.

The record is clear.

The Armenians were slaughtered.

And they were slaughtered on orders of the Turkish authorities of the day.

It is a fact—a terrible fact that must not be denied or trivialized or treated as just another political issue.

Three years ago, in a speech given here in the Capitol rotunda, Elie Wiesel, chairman of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, made a telling point.

Professor Wiesel said:

Before the planning of the final solution Hitler asked "Who remembers the Armenians?" He was right. No one remembered them, as no one remembered the Jews. Rejected by everyone, they felt expelled from history.

I believe that we have a profound obligation to remember—to make a point of remembering. And we have that obligation not only to the victims, but to ourselves.●

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I note the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, there will now be a period for the transaction of routine morning business for not to extend beyond the hour of 12:30 p.m. with statements therein limited to 5 minutes each.

#### TRIBUTE TO DR. BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to a distinguished educator from my home State, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, who passed away recently at the age of 89. To his family and his friends across the country, I extend my sympathies.

One of eight children who grew up near Greenwood, SC, Dr. Mays was a tireless advocate for education and social justice. He rose from humble beginnings as a farmhand to be president of Morehouse College in Atlanta, GA, and served for 12 years as president of the Atlanta Board of Education.

His commitment to education was an intensely personal one, and it earned him membership in the prestigious academic honor fraternity of Phi Beta Kappa. Later his studies would earn him a doctorate degree; 47 honorary degrees in law, divinity, and the humanities; numerous plaques and awards for academic excellence; and, of course, a national reputation as a leader in the field of education.

Dr. Mays also served with distinction as president of the United Negro College Fund, providing outstanding leadership in the cause of improving education opportunities for blacks and minorities.

Mr. President, our Nation has lost a remarkable man, whose soft-spoken style of leadership and commitment to improving the human condition earned him a place in the hearts of many.

Although he moved from South Carolina to Georgia, many people from my State have paid tribute to him as a native son. Three years ago, his birthplace was renamed in his honor as Mays Crossroads, and a granite marker was erected denoting Dr. Mays' many accomplishments.

In addition, Dr. Mays was inducted earlier this year into the South Carolina Hall of Fame in Myrtle Beach and his portrait now hangs in the South Carolina Statehouse in Columbia.

In order to share more about the accomplishments and life of Dr. Mays with my colleagues in the Senate, I ask unanimous consent that several newspaper articles, from the Columbia State, the Greenwood Index-Journal, and the Anderson Independent-Mail, be included in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Greenwood (SC) Index-Journal, Mar. 28, 1984]

#### DR. BENJAMIN E. MAYS DIES AT 89 IN ATLANTA

ATLANTA (AP).—Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, a nationally known civil rights leader and educator who once said he "never let race beat me down," died today at an Atlanta hospital. He was 89.

Charles Delane, a spokesman for Hughes Spalding Community Hospital, said Mays died about 7:20 a.m. The elderly educator was admitted to the hospital Sunday and "had been in declining health for some time," he said.

Mays had been treated at the hospital in January for pneumonia.

Born Aug. 1, 1894, in Epworth, S.C., Mays was the son of a black man born nine years before the Emancipation Proclamation.

He was best known as the former president of Atlanta's predominantly black Morehouse College and former president of the Atlanta Board of Education.

"Dr. Mays was truly a legend in higher education," said a prepared statement issued by Morehouse today. "He also was a confidant of many U.S. presidents and other heads of state. He touched and influenced the lives of so many men and women during his lifetime..."

"Dr. Mays was an outstanding builder of men, men of character and integrity who went on to hold influential positions in all phases of American society," the statement said.

During his lifetime, Mays received many honors, including at least 45 honorary degrees in law, divinity and the humanities from colleges and universities across the nation, and more than 200 awards and plaques.

He served on the board of numerous colleges and the Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Social Change in Atlanta.

One of his most recent honors was his induction in January into the South Carolina Hall of Fame, when former President Jimmy Carter said in a videotape presentation that Mays was "a credit to Georgia and South Carolina. He's a credit to the Southland and he's a credit to America and the world."

In that same videotape, Mays, who was presented a plaque by Carter, said, "I was born a little stubborn on the race issue. No

man has the right to look down on another man. I never let race beat me down."

Mays was a champion of the civil rights movement in the South and a quiet but persistent thorn in the white conscience.

In his 27 years as president of Morehouse College, he met regularly with students, listened and exchanged ideas which helped mold the lives of those he taught.

His most famous student was Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the late civil rights leader who was assassinated on April 4, 1968. At one time King called Mays "my spiritual mentor and my intellectual father." On the day of King's funeral, Mays eulogized King as a son, "so close and so precious was he to me."

Georgia State Sen. Julian Bond, another of Mays' students, said at the South Carolina ceremony, "I am kneeling at the feet of a giant. Making friends of enemies has been a lifelong mission of Benjamin Mays."

In March 1960 a group of Atlanta University students told Mays they planned to begin sit-ins designed to open lunch counters to blacks. The confrontation spread to the schools, where the struggle to integrate in Georgia dragged on for 18 months.

In 1961, Mays cited the admittance of two black students to the University of Georgia as the end of diehard resistance to integrated schools. At the same time, he urged black colleges to recruit whites.

Mays retired from Morehouse in 1967 and was elected to the Atlanta Board of Education at the age of 75. In 1970, he was elected chairman of the school board. He stepped down from that post in 1981.

He was an honor graduate of Bates College in Lewiston, Maine, and received his master's degree and Ph.D. from the University of Chicago. He was a member of Phi Beta Kappa.

Mays also was the author of many books, including "Born to Rebel," a study covering three-quarters of a century of black-white relations in the United States.

[From the Columbia (SC) State, Jan. 7, 1984]

#### EDUCATOR MAYS, POET RUTLEDGE INDUCTED INTO HALL OF FAME

MYRTLE BEACH (AP).—Benjamin E. Mays, who devoted his life to helping men live in peace, and Archibald Rutledge, whose writings helped generations find peace within themselves, were inducted into the South Carolina Hall of Fame during ceremonies here Friday.

The 89-year-old Mays, a Greenwood native and the son of former slaves, worked long years to advance the cause of civil rights during his career as an educator and college president.

Rutledge, who wrote his first poem at age 3 and left a long legacy of prose and poetry, served as South Carolina's first poet laureate for 39 years until his death in 1973.

A crowd of about 1,000 applauded warmly after seeing a videotape in which former President Jimmy Carter visited Mays' Atlanta Home to present a plaque marking his induction.

Mays was hospitalized in Atlanta Tuesday with pneumonia. He was listed in stable condition Friday in the intensive care unit of the Grady Memorial Hospital's Hughes-Spaulding Pavilion.

"He's a credit to Georgia and South Carolina, he's a credit to the Southland and he's a credit to the United States of America and



to the world," said Carter, who is a close personal friend of Mays.

The former president said during the tape that Mays was being recognized for a life "still full, still vigorous and with a great future of service to his fellow men and women—black and white, Americans and those throughout the world."

"I was born a little stubborn on the race issue," replied Mays, a former president of the United Negro College Fund who served as president of Morehouse College in Atlanta for 27 years.

"I felt that no man had a right to look down on another man. Every man, whether he's on the right of you, the left of you, certainly in back of you—it makes no difference—is still a man."

Georgia state Sen. Julian Bond, a student under Mays at Morehouse, said during Friday's ceremonies that "among all things, Dr. Mays is a teacher."

[From the Anderson (SC) Independent-Mail, Nov. 7, 1981]

#### CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER MAYS HONORED (By Charles Bennett)

GREENWOOD.—A mere 600 feet from the tin-roofed shack in which he was born and raised, civil rights leader and black educator Benjamin E. Mays was honored Friday in a ceremony here designating the intersection of Scott Ferry Road and U.S. 178 as "Mays Crossing."

Delivering remarks was Coretta Scott King, widow of slain civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr.

"I invited myself to this ceremony before they had a chance to invite me," Mrs. King said. "This is a very historically significant occasion in the life of one of the great men of our time."

"Many of the black leaders of today have been influenced by you," Mrs. King said to the man whom her husband referred to as his spiritual mentor and intellectual father. "I'm personally very pleased that your state has chosen to honor you. You are deserving of this and every other honor which you have received."

Also speaking were Sen. John Drummond, D-Greenwood; Rep. Jennings G. McAbee, D-McCormick; Paul Cobb, chief commissioner of the state highway department; Larry A. Jackson, president of Lander College; Maceo Nance, president of S.C. State College, a predominantly black school in Orangeburg; and former U.S. Rep. W. J. Bryan Dorn of Greenwood.

"We are not here to necessarily honor Dr. Mays but more to remind us of the message and the quality of his life," Jackson said.

In accepting the honor, Mays responded, "I'm happy. I'm glad, I'm extremely proud that my native state has done so much to honor Benjamin Elijah Mays, son of soil, son of slaves."

In his remarks, Mays told of the many changes he has seen in the state. "I was 52 years old before I was allowed to vote," he recalled. "Yes, people have changed for the better in my native state."

"The only way I can explain my presence here today is that God must have been in it. There is no way I could have done what I've done on my own. I do not take credit. I attribute it to God."

Mays' niece, Nettie Powell of Washington, D.C., unveiled the marker designating the intersection as Mays Crossing.

After the ceremony, Mays, Mrs. King and other members of the entourage lunched at Dorn's rural estate near Greenwood. Mrs. King, a leader in the Atlanta-based Martin

Luther King Center for Non-Violent Social Change, declined comment after the ceremony.

Mays was born in 1894 to former slaves S. Hezekiah and Louvenia Mays. He received his high school education from the high school department of S.C. State College. In 1920, he graduated with honors from Bates College in Lewiston, Maine.

A moderating influence in Atlanta politics for many years, Mays resigned from the presidency of the Atlanta Board of Education this year after a 12-year tenure.

Mays has led a varied life through many of the nation's institutes of higher education since his boyhood days in Greenwood.

He worked as a Pullman railroad car porter while working on his master's degree from the University of Chicago, which he received in 1925, and his doctorate in 1935. He holds 49 honorary degrees in 22 states and Africa.

His credits as an educator include president of Morehouse College in Atlanta for 27 years, after which he was elected president emeritus; dean of the school of religion at Howard University, Washington, D.C., from 1934-40; and chairman of board of trustees at Benedict College, Columbia.

He also is a board of trustees member of the King Center and a member of the board of the United Negro College Fund. He served as co-chairman of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty and as a trustee of the Danforth Foundation and the National Fund for Medical Education.

In July, Gov. Dick Riley awarded him the "Order of the Palmetto" during ceremonies unveiling Dr. Mays' portrait in the state capitol.

#### A 3-HOUR ORDEAL ON ST. MAARTEN ISLAND

Mr. COHEN. Mr. President, a most disturbing incident happened earlier this month involving two of my constituents who were visiting St. Maarten Island in the West Indies. I would like to bring the incident to the Senate's attention and comment upon it briefly.

Barbara and Susan Caldwell, the wife and daughter, respectively, of prominent Maine writer Bill Caldwell, were held at knifepoint in their car for more than 3 hours by a mob of 500 onlookers while they were vacationing on the French part of the island. This bizarre and violent incident should never have been allowed to take place, and it has raised serious questions about the adequacy of efforts by the French police to protect American citizens who visit the island.

Barbara and Susan Caldwell were fortunate to have emerged from this terrifying incident unharmed. But the question must be asked: Will others visiting the island be similarly fortunate? I have asked the State Department to review this matter, and have lodged a strong protest with French authorities as well.

Mr. Caldwell wrote a gripping article about this attack which appeared in a recent edition of the Maine Sunday Telegram, and I ask unanimous consent that the article appear in the

RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Maine Sunday Telegram, Apr. 15, 1984]

#### DAMARISCOTTA WOMEN TERRORIZED ON ST. MAARTEN

The following was written by Sunday Telegram columnist Bill Caldwell after his wife and daughter's return to Maine.

A Maine mother and daughter were held at knifepoint in their car for three hours, surrounded by a mob of 500 onlookers, on the French part of St. Maarten Island last week, while vacationing in the West Indies. Barbara B. Caldwell and her daughter Susan of Damariscotta, arrived home in Maine after the ordeal. They are the wife and daughter of newspaper columnist Bill Caldwell.

"French police and French army patrols came to the riot scene three times, but did absolutely nothing to rescue us," said Susan. "When we were finally allowed to leave our damaged car, we found the French police waiting in safety on a nearby street, till the incident was over."

Sen. William S. Cohen said Thursday that he would make a statement on the Senate floor complaining that French authorities had failed to assist American citizens when their lives were in danger. Cohen said he would also ask the State Department to register an official complaint with the French Embassy in Washington.

Barbara and Susan Caldwell described their three-hour ordeal. "We were driving up a narrow street in the French town of Marigot, when our car was stopped by a man armed with a knife and a broken-off beer bottle who blocked our way. By his long hair, which was done in long 'dreadlocks' reaching almost to his waist, we could see he was a member of the Rastafarian sect, a religious group which uses marijuana as part of their daily ritual."

"The man was bloodied around the neck and head and seemed drugged or deranged. He threatened us with his knife and bottle, and shouted to us to turn off the engine."

Mrs. Caldwell said that four or five other men, all seemingly Rastafarians, circled the car. "Soon a crowd surrounded us, numbering finally about 500 people. We closed the car windows and locked the doors, and my daughter and I sat absolutely still, not daring to make any sudden move."

After the crowd had assembled, the French police arrived on the scene. "We hoped they had come to rescue us. But they spoke only briefly to the assailant and then left."

Acting on a suggestion from an onlooker, Miss Caldwell tried to start the car and inch forward. "Then the assailant jumped on the hood of the car, tore off the windshield wipers and tried to knock in the windows with his fists," said Mrs. Caldwell. "So we stopped the car again and shut off the engine." After another hour had passed and the crowd had drawn closely around the car, they began to rock the car on its wheels. "We were scared they would turn us over and that we were in immediate danger."

Once again the French police came and went away. Then a French army patrol came in a vehicle, looked the scene over and left, according to Mrs. Caldwell.

"Our assailant became enraged again and took his knife and slashed the tires on the car, so we could not possibly move."

He jumped onto the hood and began banging on the roof and on the windshield and the side windows, shouting what sounded like "Kill me! Kill me!"

The heat inside the closed car became intense after the second hour, said Mrs. Caldwell. "It was 85 degrees outside. Inside it must have been close to 120 degrees."

The time was now close to 6 in the evening and the women began to worry what might happen to them when it got dark.

"Then we saw two huge black men by the car, rapping on the window. We rolled it down an inch," Mrs. Caldwell said. "They said they wanted us to get out. We agreed to get out, but only if they could get us safely through the mob. They said they would do their best and urged us to make a slow, easy move out of the car. We did. The two men virtually surrounded my daughter and me and got us safely through the crowd. When we reached a side street, we found the French gendarmes waiting in their car. When I asked why they had not helped us, they shrugged and laughed."

Mrs. Caldwell and her daughter were driven by their rescuers to their guest house on the Dutch side of the border. The house is owned by Earle and Betty Vaughan, formerly of Fryeburg, Maine. A telephone call to the Vaughans revealed that the Island Governing Council met Thursday to discuss how to avoid a repetition of this kind of incident. The council urged hotels and stores on the Dutch part of the island to advise tourists not to travel to the French section of the island. Local sources on St. Maartens say that an election is due to take place on the French part of the island in May and that the demonstration by the Rastafarians may have had political motives. The Caddwells say they have received apologies from the Dutch governor and the Dutch Minister of Tourism.

"We would go back to the Netherlands Antilles again tomorrow, given the chance. . . . But we would stay away from the French part of the island and advise other Americans to give it a clear berth," said Mrs. Caldwell.

#### THE SHIPPING ACT OF 1984

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, on February 23, 1984, this body passed, by a vote of 74 to 12, potentially the most significant maritime legislation in decades. Shortly thereafter on March 1, 1984, in a White House ceremony, S. 47, the Shipping Act of 1984, became Public Law 98-237.

By clarifying the extent of antitrust immunity for ocean shipping, by streamlining the regulatory process and creating new shipper-carrier relationships, we sought to develop a more efficient international ocean transportation system. During the years of extensive debate and negotiations in the House and Senate over the course of the 97th and 98th Congresses, however, some questioned whether the Shipping Act legislation would actually produce this result.

Thus, I was particularly gratified to read in the April 3, 1984, edition of the Journal of Commerce a statement

issued by Kiyoshi Kumagai, president of the Japanese Shipowners' Association. According to the report:

Mr. Kumagai, who admitted that the purpose of the American law—the Shipping Act—is to attempt to reconstitute a free and influential merchant marine, cautioned that for Japanese owners the result will be a necessity for new efforts to strive for cost reductions in servicing U.S. trade routes.

It is necessary, to devote all energies to achieving cost reductions to survive in the U.S. trade.

Mr. President, this is precisely the result that those of us who worked so hard on this legislation over the past several years were seeking. When the Japanese Shipowners' Association talks about reducing its costs in servicing U.S. trade routes, it is talking about reducing the costs of ocean transportation for U.S. exports and imports. The logical result of reduced transportation costs is the increased competitiveness of our products in foreign markets, and reduced costs for our consumers for imported goods.

Our goal was a more efficient ocean transportation system, and I am delighted that the providers of much of that ocean transportation are acknowledging that this will, indeed, be the result.

#### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT RECEIVED DURING THE ADJOURNMENT

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of April 12, 1984, the Secretary of the Senate, on April 13, April 17, April 18, April 19, and April 23, 1984, received messages from the President of the United States, submitting sundry nominations and treaties; which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations and treaties received on April 13, April 17, April 18, April 19, and April 23, 1984, are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

#### ANNUAL REPORT OF THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT RECEIVED DURING THE ADJOURNMENT—PM 129

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of April 12, 1984, the Secretary of the Senate, on April 13, 1984, received the following message from the President of the United States, together with an accompanying report; which was referred to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources:

##### To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the provisions of the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965, as amended, I am pleased to transmit herewith the 18th Annual Report of the Nation-

al Endowment for the Humanities covering the year 1983.

RONALD REAGAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE, April 13, 1984.

#### ANNUAL REPORT ON THE TRADE AGREEMENTS PROGRAM—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT RECEIVED DURING THE ADJOURNMENT—PM 130

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of April 12, 1984, the Secretary of the Senate, on April 17, during the adjournment of the Senate, received the following message from the President of the United States, together with an accompanying report; which was referred to the Committee on Finance:

##### To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with Section 163(a) of the Trade Act of 1974, I hereby transmit the Twenty-seventh Annual Report on the Trade Agreements Program 1983.

RONALD REAGAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE, April 17, 1984.

#### ANNUAL REPORT OF THE FEDERAL LABOR RELATIONS AUTHORITY, MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT RECEIVED DURING THE ADJOURNMENT—PM 131

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of April 12, 1984, the Secretary of the Senate, on April 17, 1984, during the adjournment of the Senate, received the following message from the President of the United States, together with an accompanying report; which was referred to the Committee on Governmental Affairs:

##### To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with Section 7104(e) of Title 5, United States Code, I hereby transmit the Fifth Annual Report of the Federal Labor Relations Authority which covers Fiscal Year 1983.

RONALD REAGAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE, April 17, 1984.

#### ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that on April 13, 1984, he presented to the President of the United States the following enrolled joint resolution:

S.J. Res. 173. Joint resolution commending the Historic American Buildings Survey, a program of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior, the Library of Congress, and the American Institute of Architects.



# REPORTS OF COMMITTEES RECEIVED DURING ADJOURNMENT

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of April 13, 1984, the following reports of committees were submitted on April 18, 1984:

By Mr. PERCY, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, with an amendment in the nature of a substitute:

H.R. 4504: A bill to provide that the chairmanship of the Commission of Security and Cooperation in Europe shall rotate between Members appointed from the House of Representatives and Members appointed from the Senate (Rept. No. 98-398).

By Mr. DOMENICI, from the Committee on the Budget, without amendment:

S. Con. Res. 106: An original concurrent resolution setting forth the congressional budget for the U.S. Government for the fiscal years 1985, 1986, and 1987 and revising the congressional budget for the U.S. Government for the fiscal year 1984 (Rept. No. 98-399).

By Mr. PERCY, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, without amendment:

S. 2582: An original bill to provide a supplemental authorization of appropriations for the fiscal year 1984 for certain foreign assistance programs; to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, the Arms Export Control Act, and other acts to authorize appropriations for the fiscal year 1985 for international security and development assistance, for the Peace Corps, and the International Development Association, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 98-400).

By Mr. HATCH, from the Committee on Labor and Human Resources, with amendments:

S. 2311: A bill to amend the provisions of the Public Health Service Act relating to health maintenance organizations (Rept. No. 98-401).

By Mr. ANDREWS, from the Select Committee on Indian Affairs, without amendment:

S. 2061: A bill to declare certain lands held by the Seneca Nation of Indians to be part of the Allegany Reservation in the State of New York (Rept. No. 98-402).

S. 2468: A bill to declare that the United States holds certain lands in trust for the Makah Indian Tribe, Washington (Rept. No. 98-403).

By Mr. ANDREWS, from the Select Committee on Indian Affairs, with an amendment in the nature of a substitute:

S. 1979: A bill to confirm the boundaries of the Southern Ute Indian Reservation in the State of Colorado and to define jurisdiction within such reservation (Rept. No. 98-404).

By Mr. ANDREWS, from the Select Committee on Indian Affairs, with amendments:

S. 1196: A bill to confer jurisdiction on the U.S. Claims Court with respect to certain claims of the Navajo Indian Tribe (Rept. No. 98-405).

S. 1967: A bill to compensate the Gros Ventre and Assiniboine Tribes of the Fort Belknap Indian Community for irrigation construction expenditures (Rept. No. 98-406).

S. 2177: A bill to provide for the use and distribution of the Lake Superior and Mississippi Bands of Chippewa Indians judgment funds in Docket 18-S and the Lake Superior Band of Chippewa Indians judgment funds in Docket 18-U, before the Indian Claims Commission, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 98-407).

S. 2184: A bill to amend the Native American Programs Act of 1974 to impose certain limitations with respect to the administration of such act and to authorize appropriations under such act for fiscal years 1985, 1986, and 1987, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 98-408).

S. 2403: A bill to declare that the United States holds certain lands in trust for the Pueblo de Cochiti (Rept. No. 98-409).

By Mr. PERCY, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, without amendment:

S. Res. 371: An original resolution waiving section 402(a) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 with respect to the consideration of S. 2582.

## REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. ANDREWS, from the Select Committee on Indian Affairs, with an amendment:

S. 2000: A bill to allow variable interest rates for Indian funds held in trust by the United States (Rept. No. 98-410).

By Mr. DOMENICI, from the Committee on the Budget, without amendment:

S. Res. 361: Resolution waiving section 402(a) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 with respect to the consideration of H.R. 71.

## EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following executive reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. HATCH, from the Committee on Labor and Human Resources:

Louis Roman Disabato, of Texas, to be a Member of the National Museum Services Board for a term expiring December 6, 1987; Ingrid Azvedo, of California, to be a Member of the Federal Council on Aging for a term expiring June 5, 1985;

Nelda Ann Lambert Barton, of Kentucky, to be a Member of the Federal Council on the Aging for a term expiring June 5, 1986;

Edna Bogosian, of Massachusetts, to be a Member of the Federal Council on the Aging for a term expiring June 5, 1986;

James N. Broder, of Maine, to be a Member of the Federal Council on the Aging for a term expiring June 5, 1986;

Tony Guglielmo, of Connecticut, to be a Member of the Federal Council on Aging for a term expiring June 5, 1986; and

Frances Lamont, of South Dakota, to be a Member of the Federal Council on the Aging for a term expiring June 5, 1986.

(The above nominations were reported from the Committee on Labor and Human Resources with the recommendation that they be confirmed, subject to the nominees' commitment to respond to requests to appear and testify before any duly constituted committee of the Senate.)

## INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first and second time by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. PERCY (by request):  
S. 2583. A bill to authorize United States participation in the "Office International de

la Vigne et du Vin" (the International Office of the Vine and Wine); to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. PACKWOOD:

S. 2584. A bill to provide authorization of appropriations for activities carried out under the Marine Mammal Protection Act of 1972; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mr. BENTSEN (for himself, Mr. RANDOLPH and Mr. MOYNIHAN):

S. 2585. A bill to encourage the use of native flowers in highway landscaping; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

By Mr. NICKLES:

S. 2586. A bill to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to release on behalf of the United States a reversionary interest held by the United States in certain lands located in Payne County, Okla., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry.

By Mr. CRANSTON (for himself and Mr. WILSON):

S. 2587. A bill to direct the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency to make grants to the city of San Diego, Calif., for construction of publicly owned treatment works in the city of San Diego which will provide primary treatment of municipal sewage and industrial wastes for the city of Tijuana, Mex.; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

By Mr. THURMOND (for himself, Mr. WARNER, and Mr. TRIBLE):

S.J. Res. 277. Joint resolution to authorize the Armed Force Monument Committee, the United States Armor Association, the World War Tank Corps Association, the Veterans of the Battle of the Bulge, and the 1st, 4th, 8th, 9th, 11th, 14th, and 16th Armored Division Associations jointly to erect a memorial to the "American Armored Force" on U.S. Government property in Arlington, Va., and for the other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. QUAYLE (for himself, Mr. HATCH, Mr. KENNEDY, and Mr. RANDOLPH):

S.J. Res. 278. Joint resolution to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Bureau of Labor Statistics; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

## STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. PERCY (by request):

S. 2583. A bill to authorize U.S. participation in the Office International de la Vigne et du Vin—the International Office of the Vine and Wine; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

### INTERNATIONAL OFFICE OF THE VINE AND WINE

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, by request, I introduce for appropriate reference a bill to authorize U.S. participation in the International Office of the Vine and Wine.

This legislation has been requested by the Department of State and I am introducing the proposed legislation in order that there may be a specific bill to which Members of the Senate and the public may direct their attention and comments.

I reserve my right to support or oppose this bill, as well as any suggest-

ed amendments to it, when the matter is considered by the Foreign Relations Committee.

I ask unanimous consent that the bill be printed in the RECORD at this point, together with a section-by-section analysis of the bill and the letter from the Assistant Secretary of State for Legislative and Intergovernmental Affairs to the President of the Senate dated April 6, 1984.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 2583

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President is authorized to maintain membership of the United States in the Office International de la Vigne et du Vin (the International Office of the Vine and Wine).*

#### SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS

This Bill authorizes the President to maintain United States membership in the Office International de la Vigne et du Vin, established in 1924 by an intergovernmental agreement to which the United States Government has recently acceded. This Organization is widely recognized as the most prestigious and influential intergovernmental organization devoted to international wine technology, industry and trade issues concerning its member states, and membership therein is in the interest of the United States as one of the major wine-producing countries. Permanent legislative authorization of this nature is consistent with 22 U.S.C. §§ 262 and 2672, relating to United States participation in international congresses, conferences and organizations. Annual cost to maintain our membership is expected to be approximately \$15,000 at current exchange rates.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, DC, April 6, 1984.

HON. GEORGE BUSH,  
President of the Senate,  
U.S. Senate.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The United States Government has been invited to join the Office International de la Vigne et du Vin (International Office of the Vine and Wine-O.I.V.V.), the most prestigious and influential intergovernmental organization devoted to wine technology and international trade issues concerning wine. Because of the volume of U.S. international trade in wine, the potential for greatly expanding U.S. exports of wine and the O.I.V.V.'s influence in the international wine industry and trade, the Administration believes the U.S. should join the O.I.V.V.

The O.I.V.V. was established in Paris in 1924 by an intergovernmental agreement and currently has 31 State Members including the principal wine producing and consuming countries. It addresses economic, technical and scientific issues of the wine industry with the objective of reducing barriers to trade, harmonizing national practices and reducing fraud. O.I.V.V. decisions, policies and recommendations on these issues, although non-binding, are nonetheless given serious consideration by Member States and are frequently reflected in their national legislation and trade initiatives.

The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) has by invitation, participated informally as an observer in O.I.V.V. symposia

and general assembly meetings since 1980. However, because the United States has not been a member, our representatives have not been entitled to attend closed committee meetings, where O.I.V.V. positions are formulated, or to vote. We believe United States interests can no longer be adequately represented through such limited informal participation.

For these reasons, I hereby transmit a bill to authorize the President to maintain membership of the United States in the Office International de la Vigne et du Vin (the International Office of the Vine and Wine). Annual cost to maintain our membership is expected to be approximately \$15,000 at current exchange rates.

The Office of Management and Budget has advised that from the standpoint of the Administration's program there is no objection to the submission of this legislation to the Congress.

With cordial regards,

W. TAPLEY BENNETT, JR.,

Assistant Secretary,

Legislative and Intergovernmental Affairs.

By Mr. PACKWOOD:

S. 2584. A bill to provide authorization of appropriations for activities carried out under the Marine Mammal Protection Act of 1972; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

#### ACTIVITIES UNDER THE MARINE MAMMAL PROTECTION ACT

● Mr. PACKWOOD. Mr. President, I am today introducing a bill to provide for the reauthorization of the Marine Mammal Protection Act for fiscal years 1985, 1986, 1987, and 1988.

Although I fully expect that in its final form this reauthorization legislation will contain several amendments to the act, at this point I am only offering a clean reauthorization bill. The Senate Commerce Committee will be holding hearings on the bill shortly, and it is at that time, that we will fully air the concerns of all interested parties regarding needed amendments.

I should point out, however, that it is my sincere hope that we will be able to hold amendments to a minimum. The act was subject to major revisions during the last reauthorization cycle in 1981, and I do not feel that we need to again review all aspects of our domestic marine mammal research and conservation efforts.

In addition, I am approaching this reauthorization with the view that we should not take any steps which could be construed as weakening the act. Many Americans are already concerned that the integrity of our environmental laws is in doubt. I do not want to exacerbate this perception. Therefore, only changes which it can be argued are truly needed will be considered during this reauthorization process.

As far as timing is concerned, it is my intent to report a reauthorization bill on May 8. Whether or not that bill will contain all possible amendments is subject to conjecture, but I do want to

make sure we meet the May 15 Budget Committee deadline.

I hope my colleagues will support this measure when it is brought back to the Senate later this year. I also ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 2584

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 7(a) of the Act entitled "An Act to improve the operation of the Marine Mammal Protection Act of 1972, and for other purposes," approved October 9, 1981 (16 U.S.C. 1384(a)), is amended—*

(1) by striking "and" immediately after "1983,"; and

(2) by inserting immediately before the period at the end thereof the following: " \$9,300,000 for fiscal year 1985, \$9,800,000 for fiscal year 1986, \$10,300,000, for fiscal year 1987, and \$10,800,000 for fiscal year 1988".

(b) Section 7(b) of such Act (16 U.S.C. 1384(b)) is amended—

(1) by striking "and" immediately after "1983,"; and

(2) by inserting immediately before the period at the end thereof the following: " \$2,300,000 for fiscal year 1985, \$2,400,000 for fiscal year 1986, \$2,500,000 for fiscal year 1987, and \$2,650,000 for fiscal year 1988".

(c) Section 7(c) of such Act (16 U.S.C. 1407(c)) is amended—

(1) by striking "and" immediately after "1983,"; and

(2) by inserting immediately before the period at the end thereof the following: " \$1,155,000 for fiscal year 1985, \$1,225,000 for fiscal year 1986, \$1,275,000 for fiscal year 1987, and \$1,325,000 for fiscal year 1988".

By Mr. BENTSEN (for himself,  
Mr. RANDOLPH, and Mr. MOYNIHAN):

S. 2585. A bill to encourage the use of native wildflowers in highway landscaping; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

#### USE OF WILDFLOWERS IN HIGHWAY LANDSCAPING

● Mr. BENTSEN. Mr. President, a few years ago, an insightful and progressive first lady gave us a vision of how natural beauty could be enjoyed along our Nation's highways. Lady Bird Johnson carefully jarred us out of our preoccupation with manmade eyesores and helped us move in the direction of appreciating and conserving the natural beauty of this great country. One of her memorable acts was to encourage the regulation of billboards along our highways. This not only removed a constant barrage of stationary salesmen but in most instances allowed us to see and enjoy the natural scenic beauty theretofore hidden. Lady Bird Johnson was not content to stop there. She recognized that as Americans continued their move out of cities, more and more of the countryside was being covered with shopping malls, housing subdivisions, and freeways, thus destroying natural grasses and flowers.



With her usual enthusiasm she led the movement to beautify America with the planting and cultivation of colorful and hardy native wildflowers. Her artistry is vividly displayed in the Nation's Capital where the yellows, reds, and pinks of well placed traditional and wild flowers attract the visual senses. It is with these images in mind that I introduce this bill to open to millions more of Americans the national beauty of our great country and continue the perpetuation of native wildflowers and vegetation. Often it has been our highways which have desecrated the landscape and this bill gives us an opportunity to replace and even enhance the environment along these roadways.

I am also motivated to introduce this bill by the experience gained in Texas as they have progressively pursued the planting of wildflowers along the highways in the State. These efforts have demonstrated the cost-cutting, water-saving, labor-saving benefits of blending wildflowers into highway landscaping. The Texas Highway Department proved that where wildflowers have been planted, mowing along highway right-of-way in 24 Texas counties reduced costs by 24.8 percent and actually enhanced the native vegetation. Projected statewide, the program significantly reduced the State's annual \$32 million cost of mowing by \$8 million. Wildflower landscapes also make possible a substantial reduction in annual applications of water, from as many as 20 to 30 to 5 or 6. Projecting the possible cost reductions nationwide I am sure it is obvious the savings would be significantly proportionate, thus freeing millions of dollars for other roadbuilding and rebuilding work. It is also important to note that Texas has learned the problem of litter is greatly reduced where wildflowers have been planted along the highways. Travelers are evidently more reluctant to throw litter onto an attractive landscape.

With the implementation of this bill millions of people each day who travel on our Nation's highways would have the opportunity to be uplifted by the unique contribution of wildflowers indigenous to the part of the country through which they are traveling. At the same time the wildflowers would represent millions of dollars saved during a time when State and Federal budgets are requiring careful cost-cutting efforts. I hope we may join together in following the lead of Lady Bird Johnson in beautifying our Nation's highways and conserving a national resource, while contributing to significant financial savings.●

By Mr. NICKLES:

S. 2586. A bill to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to release on behalf of the United States a reversionary interest held by the United States in cer-

tain lands located in Payne County, Okla., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

RELEASE OF CERTAIN LANDS IN PAYNE COUNTY, OK

● Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, on March 30, 1984, I introduced a bill, S. 2511, which would have the effect of lifting a "public use" reversionary clause from one parcel of land now owned by Oklahoma State University and placing that public use restriction on a separate parcel of land owned by the university. The reversionary clause is held currently by the United States. I would like to refer my colleagues to page 7213 of the March 30 RECORD for more background on this legislation.

Today I am reintroducing this legislation with the addition of a section 3 to the bill which deals with the mineral rights underlying the tract of land from which the public use surface restriction is intended to be lifted. The United States owns 75 percent of the mineral interests and the university owns the remaining 25 percent interests. This new section is designed to protect the surface uses of land from any possible adverse effects caused by the exploration and development of the underlying minerals, if any, that exist.

This protection can be accomplished in two ways. First, the university is given the option of purchasing the mineral interests of the United States at fair market value. In the alternative, if the university decides not to purchase those mineral interests, the Department of Interior could only lease or convey its mineral interests to a third party if such lease or conveyance prohibited surface occupancy of the mineral developer, if such occupancy would interfere with the surface or intended surface uses of the land.

I thank the Chair and ask unanimous consent that the bill be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 2586

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That, (a) subject to section 2, the Secretary of Agriculture shall release, on behalf of the United States, with respect to the tracts of land described in subsection (b), the condition contained in a deed dated December 13, 1954, and recorded on December 21, 1954, in deed book 155 DR beginning at page 125 in the land records of Payne County, Oklahoma, and as corrected by a Correction Deed dated December 31, 1963, and recorded on January 13, 1964, in deed book 184 DR beginning at page 465 in the aforesaid land records, between the United States of America and the Board of Regents for the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, subsequently renamed Oklahoma State University, conveying certain tracts of land, of which such described tracts of land are a

part, to such university, which requires that the tracts of land conveyed be used for public purposes and revert back to the United States should the tracts of land cease to be used for such purposes.

(b) The tracts of land referred to in subsection (a) are described as follows: Approximately 960 acres, more or less, located at Indian Base Meridian; Township 19 North; Range 1 East; and as more fully delineated in the agreement entered into in accordance with section 2 of this Act.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of Agriculture shall release the condition referred to in section 1(a) of this Act only with respect to land covered by and described in an agreement entered into between the Secretary and the Board of Regents of Oklahoma State University in which the university, in consideration of the release of such condition, agrees to transfer such condition to other lands containing approximately equal acreage owned by the university and to specify such lands in the agreement.

SEC. 3. (a) Subsequent to any release executed by the Secretary of Agriculture with respect to the tracts of land described in section 1(b) of this Act, the Oklahoma State University may apply to the Secretary of the Interior seeking to acquire all the undivided mineral interests of the United States in the tracts of land to which such release applies, and the Secretary of the Interior shall, subject to valid existing rights and subject to subsection (b) of this section, convey such mineral interests as requested.

(b) The Secretary of the Interior shall not convey the undivided mineral interest of the United States in any land as requested in an application filed by the Oklahoma State University under subsection (a) of this section unless—

(1) such application is accompanied by a sum of money which the Secretary of the Interior determines is necessary to pay the administrative costs involved in conveying such mineral interests to the University, including the costs of determining the mineral character of such land and the costs of establishing the fair market value of such mineral interest, and

(2) the University, in consideration of such conveyance, pays to the Secretary of the Interior—

(A) \$1, in the case of any such land determined by the Secretary of the Interior to have no mineral value and to be under no active mineral development or leasing, or

(B) the fair market value of such mineral interests, as determined by the Secretary of the Interior, in the case of any such land not subject to clause (A) of this subsection.

(c) Except as provided in subsection (a) and (b) above, the Secretary of the Interior shall not convey or lease the undivided mineral interest of the United States with respect to any tracts of land upon which the Secretary of Agriculture executes a release in accordance with this Act unless such conveyance or lease prohibits surface occupancy of the land for development of those interests if such surface occupancy would interfere with the surface uses or intended surface uses of the land.●

By Mr. CRANSTON (for himself and Mr. WILSON):

S. 2587. A bill to direct the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency to make grants to the city of San Diego, Calif., for construction of publicly owned treatment works in the city of San Diego which will pro-

vide primary treatment of municipal sewage and industrial wastes for the city of Tijuana, Mexico; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

**SEWAGE TREATMENT PLANT IN SAN DIEGO, CA**

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, today I am introducing legislation—with Senator PETE WILSON as a cosponsor—to authorize the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency to make grants to the city of San Diego, Calif., for the purpose of constructing a facility to treat sewage from Tijuana, Mexico. This legislation is urgently needed to address a critical public health problem in San Diego.

Tijuana now has a sewage facility which handles 5 million gallons of sewage a day. But this plant breaks down on a regular basis and raw sewage runs down from the watershed and is transported into the United States via the Tijuana River, creating an immediate public health problem in San Diego. On several occasions the San Diego area beaches have had to be closed for the public's protection.

Actually only half the households in Tijuana are hooked up to any sewage collection system at all, and for the past 3 years San Diego has been treating as much of Tijuana's sewage as the city can, about 13 million gallons per day. The pressures of Tijuana's system will get worse as additional households hook up to the city's system and as the city's population grows.

Mexico is taking steps to complete by the end of this year a 60 million gallon per day pumping plant to replace two old plants. Additionally Tijuana has installed a 42-inch pressure line to replace two old parallel lines and has upgraded its open conveyance canal which is carrying effluent to the ocean. But more work must be done to stop the flow of raw sewage into San Diego. This is an international situation and the U.S. Government must take corrective action.

The legislation being introduced today would provide \$55 million in Federal funds to build a barebones treatment facility—the minimum necessary to eliminate the public health problem. The legislation would require that the facility be built to the construction standards required under the Clean Water Act. It would also direct the State Department to enter negotiations with Mexico to seek contributions toward the plant's construction and operation and maintenance.

Mr. President, the population of Tijuana is increasing as is the population of San Diego. By the year 2000, there may well be a need for a larger facility providing a higher level of treatment—up to 100 million gallons per day for Tijuana and up to 30 million gallons per day for San Diego. This legislation does not provide for a sewage treatment plant of that size. At the same time, it does not preclude future legis-

lation for that purpose. The option would remain open.

Mr. President, it is my hope that the Senate will have the opportunity to consider this matter before the 98th Congress adjourns. The Tijuana/San Diego sewage problem is serious and needs attention this year.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That*

(a) Upon application of the City of San Diego, California, the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency (hereinafter in this Act referred to as the "Administrator") shall make grants to such city for construction of publicly owned treatment works in such city to provide primary treatment for up to 60 million gallons per day of municipal sewage and industrial waste for the City of Tijuana, Mexico.

(b) The project design for such treatment works must be approved by the Administrator, and such treatment works shall be constructed to meet the provisions of section 204(a) and (d), section 212, and section 217 of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act which would be applicable if such treatment works were being constructed under section 201 of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act.

(c) The Department of State shall enter into negotiations with the government of Mexico to seek contributions towards the capital costs of the primary treatment works and payment of user fees to cover the costs of operation and maintenance of such treatment works. In the absence of funding being provided by the government of Mexico, the Department of State shall pay the necessary costs.

(d) For fiscal years commencing after September 30, 1984, there is authorized to be appropriated \$55,000,000 to implement the provisions of this Act.

By Mr. THURMOND (for himself, Mr. WARNER, and Mr. TRIBLE):

S.J. Res. 277. Joint resolution to authorize the Armed Forces Monument Committee, the U.S. Armor Association, the World Wars Tank Corps Association, the Veterans of the Battle of the Bulge, and the 1st, 4th, 8th, 9th, 11th, 14th, and 16th Armored Division Associations jointly to erect a memorial to the "American Armored Force" on U.S. Government property in Arlington, VA, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

**MEMORIAL TO THE AMERICAN ARMORED FORCE**

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, joined by my distinguished colleagues from Virginia, Senators WARNER and TRIBLE, I am pleased today to introduce a joint resolution to authorize the erection of a memorial in Arlington, Va., for the purpose of honoring those men of "flesh and steel" of the "American Armored Force" who have honorably served this country as mem-

bers of its armored forces during World Wars I and II, Korea, and Vietnam, as well as those who are currently serving in comparable fighting units worldwide.

This memorial would be erected at no cost to the Government. It would be placed on U.S. Government property in Arlington, Va., between the Arlington Memorial Bridge and the entrance to the Arlington National Cemetery and beside Memorial Drive.

Mr. President, this proposal has the endorsement, among others, of the Armored Force Monument Committee and its eminent chairman, Gen. Bruce C. Clarke (U.S. Army, retired). It has the support of the U.S. Armor Association, the World Wars Tank Corps Association, the Veterans of the Battle of the Bulge, and the 1st, 4th, 8th, 9th, 11th, 14th and 16th Armored Division Associations.

Simply stated, this joint resolution would authorize the Secretary of the Interior to select, with the approval of the National Commission of Fine Arts and the National Capital Commission, a suitable site for this memorial.

Private donors would assume the cost of the erection of the monument. The only expense to the U.S. Government would be that incurred by the Interior Department for the maintenance and care of the memorial area.

Mr. President, one of the finest chapters in the epic history of the U.S. Army, has been the story of the "American Armored Force." This great "American Armored Force" had its beginning when Gen. "Black Jack" Pershing established the U.S. Army Tank Corps during World War I. Col. George Patton commanded one of the first tank brigades at the time when the Yankee tankers received their first baptism of fire in the battle of St. Mihiel. Between the two World Wars, U.S. Army visionaries, like Gen. Van Voorhis and Gen. Adna Chaffee, labored mightily to mechanize and modernize the U.S. Army. In January 1940, Gen. George C. Marshall brought fruition to their labors by creating the "American Armored Force."

It was this "American Armored Force" that provided the powerful armored units. This force was composed of armored divisions, mechanized cavalry groups, separate armored field artillery, tank destroyer and tank and armored infantry battalions, all of which contributed substantially to the victory of American arms in all the theaters of war in World War II.

Mr. President, this is the same "American Armored Force" that provided the basis of the armored infantry, armored cavalry, armored artillery, armored engineers, armored signal and tank units that were an integral part of the success as achieved by our forces in the many battles



fought in the Korean and Vietnam wars.

It is an honor and a personal pleasure for me, along with my colleagues, Senators WARNER and TRIBLE, to introduce this joint resolution to authorize the erection of a monument honoring the "American Armored Force." This memorial will signify permanent recognition by a grateful nation for heroic achievements in combat against aggression. I urge that this measure be given early and favorable consideration.

By Mr. QUAYLE (for himself, Mr. HATCH, Mr. KENNEDY, and Mr. RANDOLPH):

S.J. Res. 278. Joint resolution to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Bureau of Labor Statistics; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

100TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

● Mr. QUAYLE. Mr. President, today I am introducing a joint resolution to commemorate and nationally recognize the 100th anniversary of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor. I am pleased to have as cosponsors to this bill, Senators HATCH, KENNEDY, and RANDOLPH.

On June 27, 1984, President Chester A. Arthur signed into law legislation establishing the Federal Bureau of Labor, now known as the Bureau of Labor Statistics, whose mission was and is to "collect information upon the subject of labor, its relation to capital, the hours of labor, and the earnings of laboring men and women, and the means of promoting their material, social, intellectual, and moral prosperity."

The Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) has completed a century of service as one of the principal data-gathering agencies of the Federal Government. In the broad field of labor economics, BLS has the formidable responsibility for collecting, processing, analyzing and disseminating data relating to the labor force and the performance of the economy including employment, unemployment, prices and family expenditures, wages and other worker compensation, industrial relations, productivity and technological change and occupational safety and health.

BLS pursues these responsibilities with integrity and is unfailingly responsive to the need for new types of information. The Bureau organizes and collates data in useful statistical forms. The information is then presented for public use in official BLS publications such as the Monthly Labor Review, and in press releases, bulletins, and reports as well as through microfiche and new electronic services. Labor, industry, and other government agencies rely on data compiled by BLS.

For example, many public programs and private transactions are dependent today on the quality of such Bureau statistics as the unemployment rate and the Consumer Price Index. These statistics play essential roles in the allocation of Federal funds and the adjustment of pensions, welfare, payments, private, contracts and other payments to offset the impact of inflation.

In providing these kinds of crucial information, BLS strives to adhere to certain guiding principles.

The Bureau is committed to objectivity and accuracy in all of its data gathering and interpretive and analytical work. BLS insists on candor at all times, fully disclosing the methods employed in obtaining and analyzing the data, giving clear explanations of the limitations of the data and willingly admitting and correcting errors when they occur.

BLS assures its respondents that the information they provide will be kept confidential and used only for the purpose of statistical compilations. The willingness of employers to cooperate in BLS surveys is in part due to their belief that BLS can be trusted to protect its sources and handle data professionally. Without this trust BLS data would lack credibility and lose its usefulness.

BLS has an ongoing commitment to improving methods of compiling data, including gathering information more efficiently and presenting it more effectively. With the help of other Government agencies the Bureau has worked industriously on problems of statistical methodology in order to improve the quality of information obtained for public purposes and has earned an international reputation as a leader in economic and social statistics.

Throughout its century of service to the Federal Government and the public, the Bureau of Labor Statistics has established and maintained the highest standards of professional competence and commitment. Therefore, we are introducing this joint resolution in order to enable Congress and the President of the United States to give special and public recognition and commendation to the Bureau of Labor Statistics on its 100th anniversary. ●

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 476

At the request of Mr. LEVIN, the name of the Senator from Colorado (Mr. HART) was added as a cosponsor of S. 476, a bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to require a finding of medical improvement when disability benefits are terminated, to provide for a review and right to personal appearance prior to termination of disability benefits, to provide for uniform standards in determining disability, to

provide continued payment of disability benefits during the appeals process, and for other purposes.

S. 1806

At the request of Mr. BRADLEY, the names of the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. DURENBERGER) and the Senator from Illinois (Mr. DIXON) were added as cosponsors of S. 1806, a bill to recognize the organization known as the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America, Inc.

S. 2031

At the request of Mr. MOYNIHAN, the name of the Senator from Colorado (Mr. HART) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2031, a bill relating to the residence of the American Ambassador to Israel.

S. 2258

At the request of Mr. MOYNIHAN, the name of the Senator from Illinois (Mr. DIXON) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2258, a bill to grant a Federal charter to the 369th Veterans' Association.

S. 2359

At the request of Mr. HEINZ, the name of the Senator from Illinois (Mr. DIXON) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2359, a bill to amend the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 to provide that the jurisdictions having no or few areas where a majority of the residents are persons of low and moderate income target community development block grant funds to those areas with the highest proportion of such persons.

S. 2380

At the request of Mr. HEINZ, the name of the Senator from Michigan (Mr. RIEGLE) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2380, a bill to reduce unfair practices and provide for orderly trade in certain carbon, alloy, and stainless steel mill products, to reduce unemployment, and for other purposes.

S. 2413

At the request of Mr. DENTON, the name of the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. LAUTENBERG) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2413, a bill to recognize the organization known as the American Gold Star Mothers, Inc.

S. 2456

At the request of Mr. BRADLEY, the name of the Senator from Colorado (Mr. HART) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2456, a bill to establish a commission to study the 1932-1933 famine caused by the Soviet Government in Ukraine.

S. 2476

At the request of Mr. THURMOND, the name of the Senator from Texas (Mr. BENTSEN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2476, a bill to provide for a pay increase for article III judges subject to salary adjustments pursuant to section 461 of title 28 of the United States Code.

S. 2512

At the request of Mr. CHAFEE, the name of the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. COCHRAN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 2512, a bill to establish a program to improve the leadership and management skills of school administrators, and for other purposes.

S. 2579

At the request of Mr. D'AMATO, the names of the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. THURMOND) and the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. COCHRAN) were added as cosponsors of S. 2579, a bill to amend subchapter II of chapter 53 of title 31, United States Code, relating to currency reports.

## SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 5

At the request of Mr. HATCH, the name of the Senator from Delaware (Mr. ROTH) was added as a cosponsor of Senate Joint Resolution 5, a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution relating to Federal budget procedures.

## SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 244

At the request of Mr. DOLE, the names of the Senator from Arizona (Mr. DECONCINI) and the Senator from Alabama (Mr. HEFLIN) were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 244, a joint resolution designating the week beginning on May 6, 1984, as "National Asthma and Allergy Awareness Week."

## SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 257

At the request of Mr. STEVENS, the names of the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. HOLLINGS) and the Senator from Alabama (Mr. DENTON) were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 257, a joint resolution to designate the period July 1, 1984, through July 1, 1985, as the "Year of the Ocean."

## SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 258

At the request of Mr. BIDEN, the names of the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. WEICKER), the Senator from California (Mr. CRANSTON), the Senator from Idaho (Mr. SYMMS), the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. BRADLEY), and the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. JOHNSTON) were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 258, a joint resolution to designate the week of June 24 through June 30, 1984 as "National Safety in the Workplace Week."

At the request of Mr. CHILES, the names of the Senator from Arizona (Mr. DECONCINI) and the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. ABDNOR) were withdrawn as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 258, *supra*.

## SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 267

At the request of Mr. CHILES, the names of the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. ABDNOR) and the Senator from Arizona (Mr. DECONCINI) were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 267, a joint resolution to designate the week of September 23, 1984, through September 29, 1984, as

"National Drug Abuse Education and Prevention Week."

## SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 272

At the request of Mr. MURKOWSKI, the name of the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY) was added as a cosponsor of Senate Joint Resolution 272, a joint resolution recognizing the anniversaries of the Warsaw Uprising and the Polish resistance to the invasion of Poland during World War II.

## SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 94

At the request of Mr. MOYNIHAN, the name of the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. LAUTENBERG) was added as a cosponsor of Senate Concurrent Resolution 94, a concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress that the President of Syria should permit Jewish emigration.

## SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 101

At the request of Mr. D'AMATO, the names of the Senator from Maryland (Mr. SARBANES), the Senator from Iowa (Mr. GRASSLEY), the Senator from Illinois (Mr. DIXON), and the Senator from Kansas (Mr. DOLE) were added as cosponsors of Senate Concurrent Resolution 101, a concurrent resolution to commemorate the Ukrainian famine of 1933.

## SENATE RESOLUTION 367

At the request of Mr. MOYNIHAN, the name of the Senator from Indiana (Mr. QUAYLE) was added as a cosponsor of Senate Resolution 367, a resolution to express the sense of the Senate in support of "Solidarity Sunday."

## SENATE RESOLUTION 368

At the request of Mr. PRESSLER, the name of the Senator from Illinois (Mr. PERCY) was added as a cosponsor of Senate Resolution 368, a resolution condemning chemical warfare wherever it occurs and calling for a ban on chemical weapons.

## AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED

## IMPROVEMENTS TO RIVERS AND HARBORS

## DOMENICI AMENDMENT NO. 3026

(Ordered to lie on the table.)

Mr. DOMENICI submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 1739) to authorize the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to construct various projects for improvements to rivers and harbors of the United States, and for other purposes; as follows:

On page 137, line 12, after the word "authorized", insert the word "also".

● Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment to clarify the intent of the authorization for the Albuquerque Levee project, which is contained in title VII of S. 1739.

The language of the provision in the bill provides to the Corps of Engineers flexibility for controlling flooding at Albuquerque, by granting authority to lower the riverbed by dredging, thus increasing the capacity of the Rio Grande to carry water downstream, as well as authority to raise the levees north and south of Albuquerque.

The addition of the word "also" clarifies the intention of the bill that the Corps of Engineers has the discretion to accomplish either or both aspects of the program, on a cost-effective basis.●

FEDERAL BOAT SAFETY ACT  
AMENDMENTSBAKER (AND OTHERS)  
AMENDMENT NO. 3027

Mr. BAKER (for himself, Mr. DOLE, Mr. DOMENICI, Mr. GARN, Mr. HATFIELD, Mr. LAXALT, Mr. TOWER, and Mr. STEVENS) proposed an amendment to the bill (H.R. 2163) to amend the Federal Boat Safety Act of 1971, and for other purposes; as follows:

On page 25, line 7 strike "Act." and insert the following: "Act."

TITLE II—CIVIL SERVICE PROGRAMS  
COST-OF-LIVING ADJUSTMENTS UNDER THE CIVIL  
SERVICE RETIREMENT SYSTEM

SEC. 201. (a) Subsections (a) and (b) of section 8340 of title 5, United States Code, are amended to read as follows:

"(a) For the purpose of this section—

"(1) the term 'base quarter', as used with respect to a year, means the calendar quarter ending on September 30 of such year; and

"(2) the price index for a base quarter is the arithmetical mean of such index for the 3 months comprising such quarter.

"(b) Except as provided in subsection (c) of this section, effective December 1 of each year, each annuity payable from the Fund having a commencing date not later than such December 1 shall be increased by the percent change in the price index for the base quarter of such year over the price index for the base quarter of the latest preceding year in which an increase under this subsection was made, adjusted to the nearest  $\frac{1}{10}$  of 1 percent."

(b)(1) The amendments made by subsection (a) shall take effect on the date of the enactment of this Act, except that no adjustment under section 8340(b) of title 5, United States Code (as amended by such subsection), shall be made during the period beginning on the date of the enactment of this Act and ending November 30, 1984.

(2) For purposes of the first increase under subsection (b) of section 8340 of title 5, United States Code (as amended by subsection (a)) after the date of enactment of this Act, an increase under such subsection (as so amended) shall be deemed to have been made effective December 1, 1983.

(c) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, beginning with the monthly rate payable for December 1984, any annuity or retired or retirement pay payable under any retirement system for Government officers or employees which the President adjusts pursuant to section 8340(b) of title 5, United



States Code (as amended by subsection (a)), shall hereafter be paid no earlier than the first business day of the succeeding month.

(d) Subsection (b) of section 301 of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1982 (96 Stat. 790; 5 U.S.C. 8340 note) is repealed.

#### PAY COMPARABILITY ADJUSTMENT FOR FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

SEC. 202. (a)(1) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, in the case of fiscal year 1984, the overall percentage of the adjustment under section 5305 of title 5, United States Code, in the rates of pay under the General Schedule, and in the rates of pay under the other statutory pay systems shall be an increase of 3.5 percent.

(2) The adjustment pursuant to paragraph (1) shall take effect on the first day of the first applicable pay period commencing on or after January 1, 1984.

(b) Section 5305 of title 5, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)(2), by inserting "the first January 1 after" before "October 1";

(2) in the first sentence of subsection (c)(2), by inserting "the first January 1 after" before "October 1"; and

(3) in subsection (m), by striking out "October 1" and inserting in lieu thereof "the first January 1, after October 1 of the applicable year".

(c)(1) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, in the case of a prevailing rate employee described in section 5342 (a)(2) or title 5, United States Code, or an employee covered by section 5348 of such title—

(A) any increase in the rate of pay payable to such employee which would result from the expiration of limitation contained in section 107(a) of Public Law 97-377 (96 Stat. 1909) shall not take effect, and

(B) any adjustment under subchapter IV of chapter 53 of such title to any wage schedule or rate applicable to such employee which results from a wage survey and which (without regard to paragraph (4) of this subsection) is scheduled to become effective during fiscal year 1984 shall not exceed the schedule or rate payable on September 30, 1983 (determined with regard to the limitation contained in section 107(a) of Public Law 97-377) by more than 3.5 percent.

(2) Notwithstanding the provisions of section 9(b) of Public Law 92-392 or section 704(b) of the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978, the provisions of paragraph (1) shall apply (in such manner as the Office of Personnel Management shall prescribe) to prevailing rate employees to whom such section 9(b) applies, except that the provisions of paragraph (1) shall not apply to any increase in a wage schedule or rate which is required by the terms of a contract entered into before October 1, 1983.

(3) The provisions of paragraph (1) shall not apply with respect to wage adjustments for prevailing rate supervisors under the supervisory pay plan published in the Federal Register on May 21, 1982 (47 Fed. Reg. 22100).

(4) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, any adjustment in a wage schedule or rate that—

(A) applies to a prevailing rate employee described in section 5342(a)(2) of title 5, United States Code, or that applies to an employee who is covered by section 5348 of such title, or who is subject to paragraph (2) of this subsection;

(B) results from a wage survey; and

(C) would take effect, were it not for this paragraph, on or after October 1, 1983,

shall not take effect until the first day of the first applicable pay period beginning not less than 90 days after the day on which such adjustment would, were it not for this paragraph, otherwise have taken effect. The Office of Personnel Management shall take such actions as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this paragraph.

#### DEDUCTION FROM CIVILIAN PAY FOR COST-OF-LIVING ADJUSTMENT OF RETIRED OR RETAINER PAY

SEC. 203. Subsection (d) of section 301 of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1982 (96 Stat. 791; 5 U.S.C. 5332 note) is repealed.

#### LEAVE FOR CERTAIN OVERSEAS EMPLOYEES

SEC. 204. Subsection (a) of section 6 of the Defense Department Overseas Teachers Pay and Personnel Practices Act (73 Stat. 214; 20 U.S.C. 904(a)) is amended by striking out "except that—" and all that follows through the end of such subsection and inserting in lieu thereof "except that if the school year includes more than eight months, any such teacher who shall have served for the entire school year shall be entitled to ten days of cumulative leave with pay."

#### CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT DEPOSITS COVERING MILITARY SERVICE

SEC. 205. The first sentence of section 306(g) of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1982 (5 U.S.C. 8331 note) is amended by striking out "October 1, 1983" and inserting in lieu thereof "October 1, 1985".

#### PAY INCREASES FOR CERTAIN EMPLOYEES IN PANAMA

SEC. 206. (a) Section 1225(b)(2) of the Panama Canal Act of 1979 (Public Law 96-70; 93 Stat. 468) is amended to read as follows:

"(2) Each time the rates of basic pay under the General Schedule are increased under section 5305 of title 5, United States Code, the rate of basic pay for each individual referred to in paragraph (1) shall be increased by the amount which is equal to the overall average percentage by which the rates of pay under the General Schedule are increased under such section at such time."

(b) The amendment made by subsection (a) shall take effect with respect to basic pay for service performed on or after the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 207. (a) For the purposes of this section, the term "covered retirement system" shall have the same meaning as provided in section 203(a)(2) of the Federal Employees' Retirement Contribution Temporary Adjustment Act of 1983 (Public Law 98-168; 97 Stat. 1107).

(b)(1) Any individual who performed service of a type referred to in clause (i), (ii), (iii), or (iv) of section 210(a)(5) of the Social Security Act beginning on or before December 31, 1983, and who did not make an election under section 208(a) of the Federal Employees' Retirement Contribution Temporary Adjustment Act of 1983 (97 Stat. 1111) before the date of enactment of this Act, may make an election under such section 208(a) not later than 30 days after the date of enactment of this Act.

(2) Any such individual who, before the date of enactment of this Act, made an election under section 208(a) of the Federal Employees' Retirement Contribution Temporary Adjustment Act of 1983 may, not later than 30 days after the date of enactment of this Act, make any other election which such individual was entitled to make under such section 208(a) before January 1, 1984.

(3)(A) Not later than 30 days after the date of enactment of this Act, any such individual who, before the date of enactment of this Act, made an election under paragraph (1)(B) or (2)(B) of section 208(a) of the Federal Employees' Retirement Contribution Temporary Adjustment Act of 1983 may elect that sections 201 through 207 of such Act apply with respect to the participation of such individual in a covered retirement system.

(B) Sections 201 through 207 of such Act shall apply in accordance with an election made under subparagraph (A).

(4) An election under this subsection shall be made by a written application submitted to the official by whom the electing individual is paid.

(5) An election made as provided in this subsection shall take effect with respect to service performed on or after the first day of the first applicable pay period commencing after the date which is 30 days after the date of enactment of this Act.

(c)(1) Section 8342(a)(4) of title 5, United States Code, does not apply for the purpose of determining an entitlement to a refund under section 208(c) of the Federal Employees' Retirement Contribution Temporary Adjustment Act of 1983 (97 Stat. 1111).

(2) Paragraph (1) shall take effect with respect to any election made under section 208(a) of such Act or this Act before, on, or after January 1, 1984.

(d) Nothing in this section or the Federal Employees' Retirement Contribution Temporary Adjustment Act of 1983 affects any entitlement to benefits accrued under a covered retirement system before January 1, 1984, except to the extent that any amount refunded under section 208(c) of such Act is not redeposited in the applicable retirement fund.

#### TITLE III—SMALL BUSINESS PROGRAMS

##### CHANGES IN LAW TO ACHIEVE COST SAVINGS

SEC. 301. The first sentence of section 18(a) of the Small Business Act is amended by striking "1983" and inserting in lieu thereof "1986".

#### TITLE IV—VETERANS' BENEFITS AND SERVICES

##### LIMITATIONS ON LEGISLATION INCREASING RATES OF BENEFITS.

SEC. 401. (a) No legislation that would increase one or more rates of the benefits under chapter 11 or 13 of title 38, United States Code, effective in fiscal year 1984 shall be enacted if such legislation would cause the total costs of legislation increasing such rates in fiscal year 1984 to exceed \$175,500,000 in budget authority or \$145,300,000 in outlays in fiscal year 1984.

(b) In the event that legislation to increase rates of benefits under chapter 11 or 13 of title 38, United States Code, effective in fiscal year 1985 or 1986, is enacted, such legislation shall not take effect before December 1, 1984, or December 1, 1985, respectively.

SECTION 1. Section 201(b)(8) of the Federal Credit Union Act (12 U.S.C. 1781(b)(8)) is amended to read as follows:

"(8) to pay and maintain its deposit and to pay the premium charges for insurance imposed by this title; and"

SEC. 2. Section 202(b) of the Federal Credit Union Act (12 U.S.C. 1782(b)) is amended to read as follows:

"(b) For each insurance year, each insured credit union which became insured prior to the beginning of that year shall file with

the Board, at such time as the Board prescribes, a certified statement showing the total amount of insured shares in the credit union at the close of the preceding insurance year and both the amount of its deposit or adjustment thereof and the amount of the premium charge for insurance due to the fund for that year, both as computed under subsection (c) of this section. The certified statements required to be filed with the Board pursuant to this subsection shall be in such form and shall set forth such supporting information as the Board shall require. Each such statement shall be certified by the president of the credit union, or by any officer of the credit union designated by its board of directors, that to the best of his knowledge and belief that statement is true, correct, and complete and in accordance with this title and regulations issued thereunder."

Sec. 3. Section 202(c) of the Federal Credit Union Act (12 U.S.C. 1782(c)) is amended—

(1) by striking out paragraph (2);  
(2) by redesignating paragraph (1) as paragraph (2);

(3) by striking out "Except as provided in paragraph (2) of this subsection, each" in paragraph (2), as redesignated, and inserting in lieu thereof "Each";

(4) by striking out "on or before January 31 of each insurance year" in paragraph (2), as redesignated, and inserting in lieu thereof "at such time as the Board prescribes";

(5) by striking out "member accounts" in paragraph (2), as redesignated, and inserting in lieu thereof "insured shares"; and

(6) by inserting before paragraph (2) the following:

"(1) Each insured credit union shall pay to and maintain with the National Credit Union Share Insurance Fund a deposit in an amount equaling 1 per centum of the credit union's insured shares. The Board may, in its discretion, authorize insured credit unions to initially fund such deposit over a period of time in excess of one year if necessary to avoid adverse effects on the condition of insured credit unions. The amount of each insured credit union's deposit shall be adjusted annually, in accordance with procedures determined by the Board, to reflect changes in the credit union's insured shares. The deposit shall be returned to an insured credit union in the event that its insurance coverage is terminated, it converts to insurance coverage from another source, or in the event the operations of the fund are transferred from the National Credit Union Administration Board. The deposit shall be returned in accordance with procedures and valuation methods determined by the Board, but in no event shall the deposit be returned any later than one year after the final date on which no shares of the credit union are insured by the Board. The deposit shall not be returned in the event of liquidation on account of bankruptcy or insolvency. The deposit funds may be used by the fund if necessary to meet its expenses, in which case the amount so used shall be expended and shall be replenished by insured credit unions in accordance with procedures established by the Board."

Sec. 4. Section 202(c)(3) of the Federal Credit Union Act (12 U.S.C. 1782(c)(3)) is amended to read as follows:

"(3) When, at the end of a given insurance year, any loans to the fund from the Federal Government and the interest thereon have been repaid and the equity of the fund exceeds the normal operating level, the Board shall effect for that insurance year a

pro rata distribution to insured credit unions of an amount sufficient to reduce the equity in the fund to its normal operating level."

Sec. 5. Section 202(c)(4) of the Federal Credit Union Act (12 U.S.C. 1782(c)(4)) is repealed.

Sec. 6. Subsections (d) through (f) of section 202 of the Federal Credit Union Act (12 U.S.C. 1782 (d) through (f)) are amended—

(1) by inserting "its deposit or" before the words "the premium charge" and "any premium charge" each time they appear; and

(2) by striking out "member accounts" and inserting in lieu thereof "insured shares".

Sec. 7. Section 202(g) of the Federal Credit Union Act (12 U.S.C. 1782(g)) is amended—

(1) by striking out "statements, and premium charges" and inserting in lieu thereof "statements, and deposit and premium charges";

(2) by striking out "payment of any premium charge" and inserting in lieu thereof "payment of any deposit or adjustment thereof or any premium charge"; and

(3) by striking out "any premium charge for insurance" and inserting in lieu thereof "any deposit of adjustment thereof or any premium charge for insurance".

Sec. 8. Section 202(h)(1) of the Federal Credit Union Act (12 U.S.C. 1782(h)(1)) is amended by inserting before the semicolon at the end thereof the following: ", unless otherwise prescribed by the Board".

Sec. 9. Section 202(h)(2) of the Federal Credit Union Act (12 U.S.C. 1782(h)(2)) is amended to read as follows:

"(2) the term 'normal operating level', when applied to the fund, means an amount equal to 1.3 per centum of the aggregate amount of the insured shares in all insured credit unions, or such lower level as the Board may determine; and"

Sec. 10. Section 202(h)(3) of the Federal Credit Union Act (12 U.S.C. 1782(h)(3)) is amended to read as follows:

"(3) the term 'insured shares' when applied to this section includes share, share draft, share certificate and other similar accounts as determined by the Board, but does not include amounts in excess of the insured account limit set forth in section 207(c)(1)."

Sec. 11. Section 203(3) of the Federal Credit Union Act (12 U.S.C. 1782(3)(b)) is amended—

(1) by inserting "deposits and" before "premium charges"; and

(2) by adding at the end thereof the following: "The Board shall report annually to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs of the Senate and the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs of the House of Representatives with respect to the operating level of the fund. Such report shall also include the results of an independent audit of the fund."

Sec. 12. Section 206(d)(1) of the Federal Credit Union Act (12 U.S.C. 1786(d)(1)) is amended—

(1) by inserting "(1)" after "subsection (a)";

(2) by inserting "maintain its deposit with and" before "pay premiums to the Board"; and

(3) by adding at the end thereof the following sentence: "Notwithstanding the above, when an insured credit union's insured status is terminated and the credit union subsequently obtains comparable insurance coverage from another source, insurance of its accounts by the fund may cease immediately upon the effective date of such comparable coverage by mutual consent of the credit union and the Board."

Sec. 13. Title III of the Federal Credit Union Act (12 U.S.C. 1795 et seq.) is amended—

(1) in section 303 by inserting ", an instrumentality of the United States," after "Central Liquidity Facility" in the second sentence; and

(2) by adding at the end thereof the following:

#### "TAX EXEMPTION"

"Sec. 311. (a) The Central Liquidity Facility, its franchise, activities, capital reserves, surplus, and income shall be exempt from all Federal, State, and local taxation now or hereafter imposed, other than taxes on real property held by the Facility (to the same extent, according to its value, as other similar property held by other persons is taxed).

"(b) The notes, bonds, debentures, and other obligations issued on behalf of the Central Liquidity Facility and the income therefrom shall be exempt from all Federal, State, and local taxation now or hereafter imposed: *Provided, That*—

"(1) interest upon such obligations, and gain from the sale or other disposition of such obligations shall not have any Federal income tax or other Federal tax exemptions, as such, and loss from the sale or other disposition of such obligations shall not have any special treatment, as such, under the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, or laws amendatory or supplementary thereto, except as specifically provided therein; and

"(2) any such obligations shall not be exempt from Federal, State, or local gift, estate, inheritance, legacy succession, or other wealth transfer taxes.

"(c) For purposes of this section—

"(1) the term 'State' includes the District of Columbia; and

"(2) taxes imposed by counties or municipalities, or any territory, dependency, or possession of the United States shall be treated as local taxes."

(b) The amendments made by this section shall take effect on October 1, 1979.

#### ELIMINATION OF PAYROLL DEDUCTION FEES ON FINANCIAL ORGANIZATIONS; ADMINISTRATION OF DISBURSING FUNCTIONS

Sec. 14. (a) Section 3332(b) of title 31, United States Code is amended by inserting "without charge" after "shall be sent".

(b) Section 3332 of title 31, United States Code, is amended by striking out subsection (c) and redesignating subsections (d), (e), (f), and (g) as subsections (c), (d), (e), and (f), respectively.

Sec. . (a) It shall not be in order to consider any measure making appropriations in the Senate or House of Representatives, if the enactment of such bill or resolution, as recommended by the respective committee on appropriations, would cause the aggregate total budget authority for function 050, National Defense, to exceed \$299,000,000,000 in fiscal year 1985, \$333,700,000,000 in fiscal year 1986, or \$372,000,000,000 in fiscal year 1987.

(b) It shall not be in order to consider any measure making appropriations in the Senate or House of Representatives, if the enactment of such bill or resolution, as recommended by the respective committee on appropriations, would cause the aggregate total budget authority for non-defense discretionary activities to exceed \$137,800,000,000 in fiscal year 1985, \$144,200,000,000 in fiscal year 1986, or \$151,400,000,000 in fiscal year 1987.



(c) For the purposes of this section, budget authority shall be determined on the basis applicable for fiscal year 1984.

(d) The provisions of subsection (a) or (b) of this section may be waived or suspended in the Senate by a majority vote of the Members voting, a quorum being present, or by unanimous consent of the Senate.

(e) It is the sense of Congress that the unprecedented magnitude and persistence of current and projected Federal budget deficits must be addressed in a comprehensive strategy to moderate increases in defense spending while continuing the effective constraints on non-defense discretionary programs. To assure the success of such an initiative, the foregoing procedural restraints, in addition to the total aggregate spending limitations pursuant to the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, as amended, are necessary on budget authority both for defense and for non-defense discretionary programs for fiscal years 1985, 1986, and 1987.

## NOTICES OF HEARINGS

### COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I wish to announce that the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry will conduct a hearing on Wednesday, April 25, 1984, at 10 a.m. in room SR 328-A.

The hearing will cover programs administered by the Food and Nutrition Service—food stamps, child nutrition, and commodity distribution.

Anyone wishing further information, please contact the Agriculture Committee staff at 224-0014 or 224-0017.

### SELECT COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. President, I would like to announce for the information of the public that the Select Committee on Indian Affairs will be holding an oversight hearing on the implementation of the Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978 on April 25, 1984, beginning at 10:30 a.m., in Senate Dirksen 106.

Those wishing additional information should contact Paul Alexander or Peter Taylor of the committee at 224-2251.

## AUTHORITY FOR COMMITTEES TO MEET

### COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the Judiciary be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Tuesday, April 24, in order to receive testimony concerning S. 1578, the Local Government Antitrust Act of 1983.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

### SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Labor of the Committee on Labor and Human Resources be authorized to meet during the session of

the Senate on April 24, 1984 at 2 p.m. relating to occupational diseases.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

## ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

### DOMESTIC CONTENT LEGISLATION

● Mr. PACKWOOD. Mr. President, as chairman of the Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, I have scheduled 4 days of hearings on the domestic content bill, S. 707. The hearings will be held May 16 and 24 here in Washington, May 29 in Portland, Oreg., and July 6 in Des Moines, Iowa. Also, the committee is likely to hold another day of hearings in Michigan at a time and place yet to be determined.

Anticipating these hearings, Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige has written to me and every other member of the Senate expressing his concern over the implications of the domestic content bill for the American consumer, our automobile industry and other sectors of the economy.

Mr. President, I ask that the Secretary's letter be printed in the RECORD. The letter follows:

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE,  
Washington, DC, April 11, 1984.

HON. BOB PACKWOOD,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, DC.

DEAR BOB: I have written you before regarding automobile domestic content legislation. The reasons to oppose this legislation are as strong as ever. Nevertheless, the bills, S. 707 and H.R. 1234, are still before you. I urge you to continue to give this matter serious consideration.

The U.S. auto industry is a real success story of the 1983 economic recovery. Each week brings news of sales, production, profit and employment increases. Domestic manufacturers sold 6.8 million cars in 1983, a 1-million unit or 17 percent improvement over 1982. "Big Three" profits were \$6.27 billion, exceeding the previous industry record of \$5.2 billion in 1977 (and were earned on a volume that was about 26 percent lower than 1977's). Increased productivity and quality, and efforts to meet consumer preferences, triggered this remarkable turnaround. 1984 will be even better. While productivity increased, unemployment in the industry dropped significantly. Peak 1982 employment was 631,000. In 1983, it rose to 755,000, an increase of 124,000 or about 20 percent. Auto workers are back on the job building more and better American cars.

Domestic content violates the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and would invite retaliation from our trading partners. It is anticonsumer and by Commerce Department's estimates would increase auto prices 4.5 percent, or about \$450. Finally, it would be a "job loser" through retaliation and decreased imports.

The U.S. auto industry and the U.S. economy do not need protectionist proposals like S. 707 and H.R. 1234. If you have questions or wish to be briefed on this legislation,

please call the Office of Congressional Affairs on 377-3663.

Sincerely,

MALCOLM BALDRIGE.●

## RECOGNIZING THE ABILITIES OF DISABLED WORKERS

● Mr. WEICKER. Mr. President, I rise to call my colleagues attention to a recent conference held in Stamford, CT, which highlighted the mutually productive relationship that can be developed between disabled persons with job skills and employers with the foresight to recognize the abilities of disabled workers.

On Wednesday, February 15, a seminar, "Successful Accommodation of Disabled Employees—A Perspective for Managers" was sponsored by the Employ the Handicapped Committee of Southwestern Connecticut. The committee's basic purpose is to promote employment of disabled persons. The seminar was planned with this ultimate objective in mind and focused on attitudes and abilities. The committee, comprised of rehabilitation professionals and representatives of the corporate community, worked together for several months to plan, promote, and present this program to corporate management with the intent of increasing awareness and altering attitudes. The committee members are:

Kim Biensahski, Division of Vocational Rehabilitation.

Sharon Campana, General Electric Credit Corporation.

Camille Coppola, Georgia Pacific Corporation.

Marion Dailey, Connecticut Temporaries, Inc.

Tess Damon, Easter Seal Rehabilitation Center.

Beth Fish, Easter Seal Rehabilitation Center.

Dorothy Franko, Norden Systems.

Jerry Gilmartin, GTE.

Patricia Havens, International Playtex.

Wendy Jensen, The Singer Company.

Carol Poirier, Union Trust Company.

Jim Shearin, Easter Seal Rehabilitation Center.

Dorothy Silberman, Easter Seal Rehabilitation Center.

Shari Sisk, Perkin Elmer.

Carol Thomas, Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, State of Connecticut.

Lee C. Tsouris, Electrolux Corporation.

Over 75 managers representing 30 corporations attended the seminar and provided an overwhelmingly positive response to the program. The following is a synopsis of the day's activities:

Dr. Henry Viscardi, Chairman—White House Conference on Handicapped Individuals, and Founder of the Human Resources Center on Long Island, gave the keynote address. With sensitivity, he shared his real life experiences with his audience and emphasized the need for business to work harder at successfully integrating disabled workers into the workforce. He spoke of attitudinal barriers faced by disabled persons as being the greatest obstacles to employment.

A 45 minute module on "Employer-Employee Attitudes" was presented using a panel approach. Six disabled professionals from area corporations served as panel members. They were:

Ms. Pat Havens, Benefits Administration, International Playtex.

Ms. Benji Hutter, Secretary, City of Stamford—Health Department.

Mr. Leonard Klanit, General Manager—Fiber Products, Georgia Pacific Corporation.

Mr. Michael Molgano, Computer Programmer Union Carbide Corporation.

Mr. Paul Pateracki, Systems Analyst, American Can Corporation.

Ms. Jill Stine, Graphic Color Plate, Inc.

After brief self-introductions where they shared with the audience the nature of their disability, the panelists entertained questions. The questions and answers were candid and enlightening. The panelists emphasized the need for open communications to break down barriers and dispel fears.

A presentation was made to the managers present about the legal and financial consideration involved in employing disabled employees.

A 45-minute module was presented on "Creative Accommodations." Four professionals from the corporate community shared their success stories in the area of accommodations. They were:

Ms. Camille Coppola, Personnel Administrator, Georgia Pacific Corporation.

Mr. Walter Johnson, Director—Information Services, American Can Company.

Mr. Edward Poole, Assistant Vice President, EEO Compliance—GTE.

Mr. D. L. Webber, Director—EEO Affairs, ITT Corporation.

Through a combination of discussion and visual aids, they illustrated the role creativity plays in making relatively simple and low cost modifications to the work-place which enable the disabled employee to be more successful.

Mr. John Kemp gave the afternoon address. Mr. Kemp, a disabled lawyer and Director of Human Resources for the National Easter Seal Society utilized his outstanding presentation skills combined with humor to captivate and entertain the audience. He spoke of personal experiences to reinforce the needs to address our primary seminar theme of attitudes.

A "Resource Center" was set up in a separate room for all participants to examine. Literature and physical displays were on hand as were representatives from a variety of organizations: Southern New England Telephone Co., Veterans Administration, Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, Northeast Association of Business, Industry, and Rehabilitation, (NEABIR), Business Information Processing Education for the Disabled (BIPED), and the Easter Seals Rehabilitation Center of Southwestern Connecticut.

The seminar was a tremendous success overall and certainly met its objectives. The individual and corporate support in planning and participating in the program is indicative of the willingness of Fairfield County corporations to work together to be leaders in the area of employing and fully utilizing disabled workers. It should serve as a model for business across the Nation to learn the abilities of the disabled worker.●

## NOTICE OF DETERMINATION BY THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

● Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, it is required by paragraph 4 of rule 35 that I place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD this notice of a Senate employee who proposes to participate in a program, the principal objective of which is educational, sponsored by a foreign government or a foreign educational or charitable organization involving travel to a foreign country paid for by that foreign government or organization.

The select committee has received a request for a determination under rule 35 which would permit Mr. Richard Rolf of the staff of Senator HATFIELD to participate in a program sponsored by Hauss Rissen, in Hamburg and Berlin, West Germany, from April 5-13, 1984.

The committee has determined that participation by Mr. Rolf in the seminar in Hamburg and Berlin, West Germany, at the expense of Hauss Rissen, to discuss United States-German relations, is in the interest of the Senate and the United States.

The select committee has received a request for a determination under rule 35 which would permit R. Ian Butterfield, a member of Senator ROTH's staff, to participate in a program in Taiwan, sponsored by the Chinese Culture University from April 15-24, 1984.

The committee has determined that participation by Mr. Butterfield in the program in Taiwan, at the expense of the Chinese Culture University, to discuss United States-Taiwan relations, is in the interest of the Senate and the United States.

The select committee has received a request for a determination under rule 35 which would permit Senator DENNIS DECONCINI, his wife Susan, and Jane Green and Stephen Wilson of his Senate staff, to participate in a program sponsored by Soochow University, in Taipei, Taiwan from April 13-18, 1984.

The committee has determined that participation by Senator DECONCINI, his wife Susan and Jane Green and Stephen Wilson of the Senator's staff, in the program in Taipei, Taiwan at the expense of Soochow University, to discuss United States-Taiwan relations, is in the interest of the Senate and the United States.

The select committee has received a request for a determination under rule 35 which would permit Senator ARLEN SPECTER and Mrs. Specter, and Mr. Paul R. Michel, a member of the Senator's staff, to participate in the following programs from January 3-16, 1984: Visits to the Republic of China, sponsored by Soochow University, to Hong Kong, sponsored by the Chinese University of New Asia College and to the Peoples Republic of China, sponsored

by the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs.

The committee has determined that participation by Senator and Mrs. Specter and Mr. Michel in these programs, for meetings and discussions with Government and civilian leaders, is in the interest of the Senate and the United States.

The select committee has received a request for a determination under rule 35 which would permit Senator PAUL S. TRIBLE, JR., to participate in a program sponsored by Tamkang University, in Taipei, Taiwan, from October 7-13, 1983.

The committee has determined that participation by Senator TRIBLE in the program in Taipei, at the expense of Tamkang University, to meet with Government and civilian leaders is in the interest of the Senate and the United States.

The select committee has received a request for a determination under rule 35 which would permit Mr. Paul Sivley of the staff of Senator FRANK MURKOWSKI, to participate in a program in Jordan, sponsored by the World Affairs Council, from April 13-22, 1984.

The committee has determined that participation by Mr. Sivley in the program in Jordan, at the expense of the World Affairs Council, a private educational and cultural association based in Amman, Jordan, to participate in a fact-finding trip, is in the interest of the Senate and the United States.●

## HONORING WESTAR I'S 10TH ANNIVERSARY

● Mr. PACKWOOD. Mr. President, I want my colleagues in this body to know that 10 years ago, on April 13, 1974, Western Union launched America's first domestic communications satellite—Westar I. That launch marked the beginning of the Nation's first system for commercial communications by satellite.

This historic event is recognized for three reasons important to America's goals in space:

First, the entrepreneurial risk and pioneering investment of Western Union and its commitment to Westar I marked a significant first step in the commercial utilization of space by private industry.

Second, the perfect performance of Westar I gave credence and confidence to a fledgling commercial satellite industry in the United States which today represents a capital investment of more than \$3 billion.

And last, Mr. President, through its preparation, launch, and development, Westar I demonstrated to the world the successful collaboration of American industry and Government working together in an extraordinary partnership to extend the frontiers of space communications.



In his state of the Union message earlier this year, President Reagan set forth his goal to build on America's pioneer spirit in the next important frontier, space, with the development of a permanently manned space station within a decade. In promoting private sector investment in space, the President observed that our country's space progress to date is a "tribute to American teamwork and excellence."

Over 120 years ago, Western Union linked the Pacific Coast with the rest of the Nation through the first transcontinental telegraph system. That same pioneering spirit fired America's first communications satellite, Westar I, whose 10th anniversary we honor.●

#### EUROPEAN CONCERN OVER CENTRAL AMERICAN POLICY

● Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, recent French and British Government criticism of the mining of Nicaraguan harbors is a timely reminder of longstanding European concern over the Reagan administration's policy toward Central America. We should heed these expressions from our closest allies.

Over 600 European parliamentarians recently outlined European concerns in a letter to Speaker O'NEILL. In that letter, the parliamentarians note that the "bridges, factories, cooperatives, geothermal, and harbor facilities built with the aid of Western European development agencies have been seriously damaged by saboteurs, directed and paid by the CIA." They urge an end to the covert war and support for a negotiated solution.

I ask that the full text of this letter and signatures be printed in the RECORD.

The material follows:

To: Speaker of the House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. O'NEILL: Last July a large group of Western European parliamentarians and politicians wrote to you to express grave concern about the U.S. Administration's acts of economic, political and military hostility toward Nicaragua. We urged you to acknowledge the right of Nicaragua to decide on its own future and to end military and political confrontation in the region.

Since we last wrote you the House of Representatives has voted twice against funding the CIA's covert war against Nicaragua, votes which we heartily endorse. But the U.S. Administration's aggression toward Nicaragua has escalated: offers to negotiate by the Nicaraguan government have been spurned, efforts to isolate Nicaragua economically and politically have intensified and military attacks on Nicaragua have increased.

In light of recent events in the Caribbean our concern for the preservation of the very fabric of international law has grown. We believe that the attempt to place events throughout the Third World and especially in Central America in an East-West context is fraught with danger and is not warranted by the facts. To follow this mistaken road, we fear, might well lead the U.S. into a protracted regional war in Central America.

We wish to reiterate that we think that the Nicaraguan government clearly enjoys broad support among the people of Nicaragua, based on its achievements of land reform, health, education and basic human rights. We believe that the scheduled 1985 elections in Nicaragua will offer the Nicaraguan people a fair opportunity to determine their own future. The very concerns expressed by Congress and the Administration for democracy in Nicaragua are vitiated by the Administration's covert war and economic policies.

The U.S. Administration's support for a war against Nicaragua threatens not only the lives of the Nicaraguan people and the future of the country itself, but also undermines our attempts to aid Nicaragua through development assistance. The bridges, factories, cooperatives, geothermal and harbour facilities built with the aid of Western European development agencies have been seriously damaged by saboteurs, directed and paid by the CIA.

We therefore appeal strongly to you:

To support negotiated solutions to Central American problems, such as those proposed by the Contadora group and the Nicaraguan government, which has shown renewed flexibility and willingness to negotiate

To continue your efforts:

(a) To oppose the granting of new funds for CIA actions against Nicaragua;

(b) To withdraw support for the forces attacking Nicaragua from its border areas;

(c) To cease using other countries in the region for the concentration of troops which constitute a latent and manifest threat to Nicaragua

To assure that Nicaragua receives non-discriminatory treatment by the U.S. within international financial institutions such as the World Bank

To act to assure that Nicaragua is treated according to the same criteria as other developing nations in the fields of aid and trade.

#### SIGNATORIES

##### The Netherlands

##### Social Democratic Party (P.v.d.A.):

E. L. Herfkens	A. Kosto
J. M. den Uyl	F. Moor
M. van den Berg	I. Muller-van Ast
R. ter Beek	F. Niessen
J. van Kemenade	J. van Nieuwenhoven
M. P. A. van Dam	D. van Oloyen
W. Meyer	S. Poppe
H. Kombrink	W. A. de Pree
E. van Thijn	H. Rienks
H. Alders	N. Salomons
H. van den Bergh	B. Spieker
R. de Boois	P. Stoffelen
F. Buurmeyer	R. Tazelaar
F. Casticum	R. Toussaint
I. Dales	M. van Traa
J. C. Th. van der Doef	E. ter Veld
I. Haas-Berger	P. de Visser
R. P. Hummel	P. de Waart
W. Jabaay	J. Wallage
H. Knol	T. Woltgens
J. Konings	K. Zijlstra
	K. de Vries

##### Independent Christian Democrats:

J. N. Scholten  
P. Dijkman

##### France

##### Socialist Party (P.S.):

P. Joxe	G. Vadepier
C. Estier	V. Neiertz
A. Bellon	G. Bapt
J. Natiez	R. Douyere

G. Labazee  
C. Laurissegues  
P. Marchand  
F. Mortelette

J. P. Santa Cruz  
J. Huntzinger  
G. Domenach-Chich  
N. Bourdillat

##### Germany

##### Social Democratic Party (S.P.D.):

W. Roth	H. Menzel
U. Holtz	A. Müller-Emmert
E. Eppler	M. Müller
O. Lafontaine	F. Müntefering
G. Bamberg	P. Paterna
H. G. Bernrath	G. Paull
R. Binding	H. Peter
L. Blanck	R. Purps
A. von Bülow	H. Rapp
W. M. Catenhusen	R. Schmidt
H. Collet	R. Schmitt
L. Curdt	R. Schöfberger
K. Delorme	G. Schröder
F. Duve	O. Schreiner
L. Fischer	W. Schwenk
K. Fuchs	H. Sielaff
F. Gerstl	H. Simonis
K. Gilges	D. Spöri
E. Haar	H. A. Stelner
G. Heyenn	L. Stiegler
R. Hiller	M. Terborg
H. Hoffmann	H. G. Toetmeyer
K. Immer	J. Vahlberg
G. Jansen	E. Waltemathe
V. Jung	E. Walter
K. Kirschner	G. Wartenberg
H. Klein	G. Weisskirchen
H. U. Klose	E. von der Wiesche
K. Kubler	R. Zutt
E. Kuhlwein	R. Hartung
U. Lambinus	H. Scherf
K. Lohmann	P. von Oertzen
I. Matthäus-Meier	

##### Great Britain

##### Labour Party:

E. Heffer	D. Hoyle
D. Anderson	J. Maynard
E. Deakins	J. Richardson
J. Evans	D. Canavan
G. Foulkes	J. Corbyn
J. Hart	

##### Liberal Party:

D. Steele  
Independent:  
Lord Chitnis

##### Ireland

##### Fianna Fail Party:

D. Spring	M. Moynihan
B. Desmond	J. Bermingham
R. Quinn	M. D. Higgins
F. Cluskey	F. Mahony
J. Ryan	M. Robinson
S. Treacy	H. McAuliffe Ennis
E. Desmond	M. Ferris
M. Taylor	B. Howlin
T. O'Sullivan	S. McGonagle
S. Pattison	P. Magner
F. Prendergast	T. Conway
F. McLaughlin	J. Harte

##### Italy

##### Communist Party (P.C.I.):

E. Berlinguer	F. Palopoli
G. Napolitano	G. Vignoli
A. Rubbi	S. Sanfilippo
C. Petruccioli	G. V. Ronzani
I. Trebbi	R. Minozzi
G. Giadresco	R. Palmmini
E. Quercioli	A. Brina
L. Canullo	F. Auletta
B. Sanlorenzo	M. Graduat
R. Zangheri	E. Polidori
U. Spagnoli	A. Riccardi
E. Cerquetti	G. Crippa

G. Gatti  
P. Lops  
M. Toma  
B. Gelli  
S. Cherchi  
B. Sannella  
G. Binelli  
B. Virgili  
R. Donazzon  
A. Provantini  
S. Picchetti  
E. Belardi  
V. Angelini  
G. Alborghetti  
L. Benevelli  
N. M. Fornari  
L. Cominato  
P. Proietti  
L. Sandirocco  
A. Iovannitti  
G. Bellini  
A. Malgari  
A. Scaramucci  
C. Fittante  
A. Mainardi  
F. Zoppetti  
A. Giovagnoli  
A. Ceci  
A. Francese  
C. Bernabucci  
L. Badesi  
L. Grassucci  
M. T. Granati  
L. Bulleri  
R. Moschini  
G. Janni  
A. Montessoro  
P. Ciofi  
F. Calvanese  
G. Borghini  
A. M. Boselli  
S. Rindone  
F. Trabacchi  
N. Umidi  
G. U. Polesello  
F. Sapino  
V. L. Cordiali  
N. Pallanti  
A. Satanassi

## Socialist Party (P.S.I.):

S. Labriola  
F. Piantrotti  
F. Piro  
G. La Ganga

## Radical Party (P.R.):

G. Melega

## Independent Part (G.I.):

S. Rodota  
N. Ginzburg  
G. Codrignani  
E. Giovannini  
G. Nebbia  
F. Bassanini  
G. Ferrara  
E. Masina  
R. La Valle  
F. Russo  
G. Fiori  
L. Pingitore

## Sweden

## Social Democratic Party:

B. Silfverstrand  
A. Gustavsson  
S. Ericson  
A. Andersson  
G. Engman  
H. G. Franck  
M. Andersson  
B. Evermo  
S. Palm  
A. Lindh  
M. L. Loow

S. Zavettieri  
M. Ferrari  
G. Albertibi

F. Ongaro  
F. Pintus  
A. Ossicini  
M. Gossini  
E. Milani  
C. Napoleoni  
M. Riva  
B. Ulianich  
E. E. Agnoletti  
A. Alberti  
L. Angelini  
G. Pasquino

T. Karlsson  
B. Lofstedt  
B. Rosqvist  
L. Mattson  
D. Haavik  
J. Bergqvist  
E. Svensson  
K. E. Svartberg  
M. Wallstrom  
G. Andersson  
S. Haeggroth

*Denmark*  
Social Democratic Party:  
A. Joergensen  
L. Budtz  
S. Aukun

*Finland*  
Social Democratic Party:  
O. Helminen  
K. Suonio  
M. Adhe  
L. Jaakonsaari  
A. Alho  
P. Starast  
T. Paavilainen  
M. Nyby  
A. Kalliomäki  
P. Ala-Kapee  
L. Savolainen  
R. Lindroos  
T. Roos  
S. Hurskainen  
T. Haemäläinen  
K. Raatikainen  
S. Tikka  
E. Liikanen  
R. Paasilinna  
K. Toernqvist

*Belgium*  
Socialist Party (S.P.):  
L. Tobback  
L. van Velthoven  
E. Baldeuwijns  
N. de Batselier  
V. van der Heyden  
G. Temmerman  
J. van Elewijck  
M. Galle  
L. Hancke  
A. Bogaerts  
O. Lefebvre  
J. Sleekx  
J. Leclercq  
M. Bourry  
H. de Loor  
W. Claes

*Switzerland*  
Social Democratic Party (P.S.S.):

D. Robbani  
Y. Jaggi  
J. P. Metral  
R. Mueller  
J. N. Rey  
E. Salmina  
A. Ratti  
L. Uchtenhagen  
T. Maissen

*Austria*  
Social Democratic Party (S.P.O.E.) and  
Liberal Party (F.P.O.E.):

S. Wille  
F. Peter  
F. Marsch  
J. Steinhuber  
F. Precht  
F. Hochmair  
R. Parnigoni  
J. Hoell  
H. Hobl  
A. Kraeutl  
E. Nedwed  
R. Gradischnik  
K. Muehlbacher  
H. Kapaun  
H. Kuba  
A. Brennstetter  
H. Seel  
G. Tychtl  
J. Cap  
H. Hawlicek

I. Noergaard  
J. Andersen  
S. M. Paakkinen  
M. Roennholm  
R. Ahonen  
P. Eenilä  
P. Lahti-Nuuttila  
A. L. Piipari  
J. Ranta  
T. Halonen  
S. Knuuttila  
A. Ajo  
M. Aaltonen  
K. Baerlund  
A. von Bell  
K. Urpilainen  
J. Rantanen  
P. Hietala  
J. Tuovinen  
M. Laehdesmäki  
M. L. Tykkyläinen  
P. Paasio

E. de Baere  
G. de Smeyter  
A. op 't Eynde  
R. Boel  
J. de Bremaeker  
I. Egelmeeers  
H. Knuts  
W. Seeuws  
J. Wijninckx  
J. Ferir  
G. Marmenout  
M. van den Hove  
E. Coppens  
L. de Pauw-Deveen  
W. Geldolf  
P. van der Niepen

M. Hesele  
I. Smejkal  
E. Dobesberger  
F. Ruhaltinger  
A. Teschl  
A. Reichert  
A. Gossi  
A. Konecny  
J. Stippel  
A. Grabner  
A. Rechberger  
A. Praher  
K. Neuwirth  
W. Guggenberger  
F. Samwald  
H. Grabner

*Greece*  
Socialist Party (PASOK):  
A. Kazazis  
A. G. Papadopoulos  
S. Katiniotis  
A. Damianidis  
A. Daribianakis  
S. Marinidis  
N. Papaioanou  
A. Natzipetrou  
G. Dabidopoulos  
O. Papastratis  
M. Papastefanakis  
G. Malliakas  
D. Papadimitriou  
G. Klavdianos  
P. Balbis  
G. Konstantinidis  
N. Houlis  
K. Tsigaridas  
G. Koutsogiannis  
B. Agorastis  
H. Fotiou  
G. Hotakis  
M. Tsaparas  
K. Papageorgious  
K. Mpakogiannis  
K. Kontopodis  
E. Drretakis

## Communist Party:

K. Loules  
D. Mavrodoglou  
K. Vasalos  
E. Ipsilanti  
D. Sahinis

## Euro-Parliament

## Different Parties:

I. van den Heuvel  
K. van Miert  
J. van Minnen  
R. Cohen  
A. Krouwel-Vlam  
M. van Hemeldonck  
G. Fuchs  
B. Halligan  
G. J. Adam  
D. Rogalla  
D. Enright  
C. Markopoulos

ADVANCE NOTIFICATION—  
PROPOSED ARMS SALES

● Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, section 36(b) of the Arms Export Control Act requires that Congress receive advance notification of proposed arms sales under that act in excess of \$50 million or, in the case of major defense equipment as defined in the act, those in excess of \$14 million. Upon receipt of such notification, the Congress had 30 calendar days during which the sale



may be reviewed. The provision stipulates that, in the Senate, the notification of proposed sales shall be sent to the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee.

Pursuant to an informal understanding, the Department of Defense has agreed to provide the committee with a preliminary notification 20 days before transmittal of the official notification. The official notification will be printed in the RECORD in accordance with previous practice.

I wish to inform Members of the Senate that such a notification has been received.

Interested Senators may inquire as to the details of this advance notification at the office of the Committee on Foreign Relations, room SD-423.

The notification follows:

DEFENSE SECURITY ASSISTANCE AGENCY,  
Washington, DC, April 11, 1984.  
HON. CHARLES H. PERCY,  
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,  
U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Pursuant to the reporting requirements of Section 36(b) of the Arms Export Control Act, we are forwarding herewith Transmittal No. 84-36 and under separate cover the classified annex thereto. This Transmittal concerns the Department of the Navy's proposed Letter of Offer to Greece for defense articles and services estimated to cost \$40 million. Shortly after this letter is delivered to your office, we plan to notify the news media of the unclassified portion of this Transmittal.

You will also find attached a certification as required by Section 620C(d) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, that this action is consistent with Section 620C(b) of that statute.

Sincerely,

GLENN A. RUDD,  
Acting Director.

#### TRANSMITTAL NO. 84-36

Notice of proposed issuance of letter of offer pursuant to section 36(b) of the Arms Export Control Act

- (i) Prospective purchaser: Greece.
- (ii) Total estimated value: Major defense equipment (as defined in section 47(6) of the Arms Export Control Act), \$19 million; other, \$21 million; total, \$40 million.
- (iii) Description of articles or services offered: A quantity of two PHALANX Close-In Weapon Systems with spare parts, support equipment, contractor engineering and technical support, technical documentation, and training.
- (iv) Military department: Navy (LDS).
- (v) Sales commission, fee, etc., paid, offered, or agreed to be paid: None.
- (vi) Sensitivity of technology contained in the defense articles or defense services proposed to be sold: See Annex under separate cover.
- (vii) Section 28 report: Case not included in section 28 report.
- (viii) Date report delivered to Congress: April 11, 1984.

#### POLICY JUSTIFICATION

Greece—Phalanx Close-In Weapon System and Support

The Government of Greece has requested the purchase of a quantity of two Phalanx Close-In Weapons Systems (CIWS) with spare parts, support equipment, contractor

engineering and technical support, technical documentation, and training at an estimated cost of \$40 million.

This sale will contribute to the foreign policy and national security objectives of the United States by improving the military capabilities of Greece in fulfillment of its NATO obligations; furthering NATO rationalization, standardization, and interoperability; and enhancing the defenses of the Western Alliance.

The Greek Navy plans to put the Phalanx CIWS aboard their two Kortenaer class frigates in order to provide them with a modernized defensive capability. The Greek Navy will be able to absorb these systems with little effort and these systems will be provided in accordance with, and subject to the limitations on use and transfer provided for under the Arms Export Control Act, as embodied in the terms of sale. This sale will not adversely affect either the military balance in the region or U.S. efforts to encourage a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus question.

The prime contractor will be the Pomona Division of General Dynamics of Pomona, Calif.

Implementation of this sale will require the assignment of three additional U.S. Government personnel to Greece for four weeks and five additional contractor representatives to Greece for up to two months.

There will be no adverse impact on U.S. defense readiness as a result of this sale.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE, UNDER  
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR SECURITY  
ASSISTANCE, SCIENCE AND  
TECHNOLOGY,

Washington, DC, April 3, 1984.

Pursuant to section 620C(d) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended (the Act), and the authority vested in me by Department of State Delegation of Authority No. 145, I hereby certify that the provision to Greece of two PHALANX Close-In Weapons Systems at an estimated cost of \$40 million is consistent with principles contained in section 620C(b) of the Act.

This certification will be made part of the certification to the Congress under section 36(b) of the Arms Export Control Act regarding the proposed sale of the above-named articles and is based on the justification accompanying said certification, and of which such justification constitutes a full explanation.

WILLIAM SCHNEIDER, Jr. ●

#### TENNESSEE RETIRED FEDERAL EMPLOYEES WEEK

● Mr. SASSER. Mr. President, I wish to honor the contributions made to our National Government by military, postal, and civilian service retirees. In their Federal careers, these outstanding individuals did a truly outstanding job of administering the laws that we, the Congress, enacted. They provided continuity and stability to our country in periods of turmoil. And they gave a diverse succession of Presidents the expertise needed to implement their policies.

Every community in the country relies on the letter carriers, agricultural agents, civil engineers and others who enter public service. In Tennessee, we are proud of the accomplishments of these workers. Their respon-

siveness of our needs and their fine contributions to our governmental system deserve our sincere appreciation and greatest admiration.

Unfortunately, for the past several years, retirees from the Federal service have figured heavily in the Reagan administration's cost control plans. They have experienced large reductions in health and cost-of-living benefits, and basic changes in the retirement system have created confusion, doubt, and deep anxiety among Federal retirees.

I have been in the forefront of the opposition to these efforts to undermine the integrity of the civil service retirement system. We have promised reasonable benefits to those who are currently retirees, as well as those who are now contributing toward a future retirement. And we should honor our commitment.

In Tennessee, there are 18,958 retired employees with average annuities of \$1,062 a month. There are 7,184 persons receiving survivor annuities on the average of \$486 a month. These individuals have earned these benefits after long years of Federal service. And their retirement income is fully taxable.

Civil servants are, on the whole, selfless dedicated individuals who are a source of pride for those of us who value the merit system under which they work. The standards for their selection are very high. A stable Federal retirement system is important to attracting and retaining talented and productive employees to Government careers. I pledge to continue to work on behalf of the Federal retiree in Congress to preserve the integrity of their benefits.

I congratulate Tennessee's retired Federal workers on their service to the U.S. Government. The week of April 22-28 has been designated "Retired Federal Employees Week" in Tennessee. With unanimous consent, I ask that the gubernatorial proclamation announcing this week be printed in the RECORD.

#### PROCLAMATION

Whereas, the U.S. Civil Service Act of 1883 was signed into law by then President Chester A. Arthur, thereby creating the U.S. Civil Service System; and

Whereas, the U.S. Civil Service Retirement System was created in 1920 and signed into law by then President Woodrow Wilson; and

Whereas, virtually all state, county and municipal civil service systems have derived from the U.S. Civil Service Act; and

Whereas, untold thousands of U.S. Civil Service employees have worked diligently, patriotically, silently and with little notice to uphold the highest traditions and ideals of our country; and

Whereas, thousands of Federal employees are retired in Tennessee and continue to devote inestimable time and effort toward the betterment of our communities and state;

Now, therefore, I, Lamar Alexander, as Governor of the State of Tennessee, do hereby proclaim the week of April 22-28, 1984, as retired Federal Employees Week in Tennessee and do urge all our citizens to join me in this observance.●

#### ADULT EDUCATION ACT REAUTHORIZATION

● Mr. QUAYLE. Mr. President, recently I introduced with my colleagues, Mr. STAFFORD, Mr. HATCH, and Mrs. HAWKINS, a bill to reauthorize the Adult Education Act through fiscal year 1989. This bill, S. 2496, continues the Federal commitment to eradicating illiteracy in our Nation. While the adult education programs are estimated to serve approximately 2 million people a year, almost 23 million Americans fall into the category of functionally illiterate. This is a tragic waste of human potential, both economically and socially.

The adult education programs funded by the Federal Government and by States do make a difference. However, with the number of Americans in need of remedial services, volunteers and the private sector must become involved. Already many businesses donate money, as well as their employees to voluntary efforts to help tutor illiterate adults.

Recently, Business Week ran an article on the number of businesses becoming involved in the fight against functional illiteracy. I ask permission to have this article, entitled "How Business is Joining the Fight Against Functional Illiteracy" reprinted in the RECORD. I also urge my colleagues to support S. 2496 to continue the Federal Government's commitment to reducing illiteracy in our country.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

##### HOW BUSINESS IS JOINING THE FIGHT AGAINST FUNCTIONAL ILLITERACY

Item: CBS News correspondent Fred Graham seemed to be stammering on a live morning broadcast earlier this year. The reason: The technician turning the teleprompter was unable to keep up with Graham because, it turned out, the technician could not read.

Item: Polaroid Corp.'s Al Robinson did so well as an engineer's aide that the company made him a supervisor, but he sat mum through staff meetings about equipment problems, phoning his boss at home to offer suggestions. The reason: His grammar was so bad that he was ashamed to speak up in a group.

Item: An insurance company authorized a payment of \$22.00 on a dental claim, but the patient received a check for \$2,200. The reason: The clerk who made out the payment did not understand the meaning of the decimal point.

Incidents like these, producing costs that range from annoyance to major financial losses, are worrying American management about their employees' level of knowledge—and what it means for the economy, today and tomorrow. In response, growing numbers of companies are pouring money and

manpower into remedial education. "The issue of functional illiteracy lies coiled at the center of our unemployment problems," says Robert W. Feagles, senior vice-president of Travelers Insurance Co., "and it threatens this country's ultimate ability to succeed in the world market."

##### MINIMUM NEEDS

The problem is not simple illiteracy. Virtually every adult in the U.S. can write a signature and recognize the word on a stop sign. But one needs a higher level of reading ability—and associated math and problem-solving skills—to function in today's society. At the least, a worker should be able to read such instructions as: "In an emergency, pull lever." Experts describe this as the equivalent of a sixth-grade education. The Education Dept. estimates that some 25 million American adults—one in seven—are not at this level, whatever their formal education. They are functionally illiterate.

Moreover, the problem is growing. The agency estimates that 2.3 million people a year are added to the ranks of the functionally illiterate: 1 million teenagers who leave school without elementary skills and 1.3 million non-English-speaking arrivals. They equal almost exactly the number trying to climb out of these ranks—the 2.3 million students who enroll annually in adult literacy programs. Since no program is 100% successful, the functionally illiterate population rises inexorably year by year.

Basic social forces help to perpetuate the problem. "Many people are part of a culture where reading things is not the primary way of getting information," says Linda E. Stoker, training manager at Polaroid. These people produce children who do not read because reading is irrelevant to their out-of-school lives. The problem is especially severe among minorities. Some 56% of Hispanic 17-year-olds and some 47% of black 17-year-olds are rated as functionally illiterate. The latter figure has prompted a group of predominantly black organizations to form the Assault on Illiteracy Program to foster literacy among black adults.

Other figures reveal the economic and social impact of illiteracy. At least half of the unemployed are functionally illiterate, according to Labor Dept. estimates. Half of the prison population is illiterate, according to Diane W. Vines, director of the Education Dept.'s National Adult Literacy Initiative. "The cost to society . . . is staggering," says Per B. Christiansen, a marketing manager at Nalco Chemical Co. and head of its literacy project.

##### KISSING FROGS

Nalco and other companies combating illiteracy deplore its social effects, but their primary motive is its corporate cost. Vines cites, an example: "A New York-based insurance company estimates that 70% of dictated correspondence must be redone at least once because of human errors." Estimates of the productivity losses attributable to undereducation put the figure in the hundreds of millions of dollars. When the center for Public Resources in New York City conducted a study of such losses in 1982, the single company willing to report the cost of wasted material and botched work set the figure at \$250,000 a year—and the company was a medium-size manufacturer.

But workers without the skills to do their current jobs are only part of the problem. Increasingly, business is finding that even competent entry-level employees lack the skills needed to move up. Identifying the promotable among hundreds of job appli-

cants has become a tough and expensive business. Says Donald C. Mann, a vice-president of Prudential Insurance Co.: "As one young woman told me after a day of interviewing local high school graduates, 'Before you find Prince Charming, you have to kiss a lot of frogs.'"

Even superb and extensive interviewing will not do the job in the years ahead. "We're faced with a demographic trend," says Jack W. Troster, corporate staffing manager of Texas Instruments Inc. Since birth rates were relatively low during the late 1960s and early 1970s, the number of Americans reaching working age is falling steadily. Only 3.2 million will turn 18 in 1992, 40% fewer than in the peak year of 1979.

At the same time that these fewer new workers are making selectivity harder, corporate job needs will become more complex. "Technology is changing," says Edward E. Sutton, assistant vice-president for human resources development at New York Telephone Co. "Basic jobs are being eliminated and new jobs are coming in, requiring a higher level of skills." This is true not only of jobs involving computers and other advance equipment but also of so-called unskilled jobs. "What kind of literacy will a truck driver need in 30 years?" asks Harold L. Hodgkinson, senior fellow at the Institute for Educational Leadership in Washington. His answer: "Truck drivers are going to operate some sophisticated machinery." They need fairly high reading and math skills right now, he adds.

##### REDESIGNING JOBS

Not only does business have fewer jobs requiring only minimal literacy, but the literate worker who traditionally filled some relatively low-level jobs have gone elsewhere. For stores seeking sales help, for instance, "it's a decidedly different labor market today than it was 15 or 20 years ago," says Alice Bird McCord, personnel vice-president of the National Retail Merchants Assn. in New York City. The kind of well-educated housewife who formerly took a part-time minimum-wage job in a department store then is probably a full-time careerist now, leaving the lower-level job to the less well-equipped.

In response, some stores have redesigned their jobs. "What has happened . . . is that lower-level jobs have been deskilled," McCord says. For example, fast-food outlets use cash registers on which the checker need only touch a few keys to figure automatically the price of an item and the change to be returned. On a more complex level, department stores are altering their whole sales approach. Because they cannot count on salespeople to suggest appropriate accessories, they are putting more of their budgets into fashion-oriented newspaper supplements that display accessories with the advertised dress or coat.

But these are only stopgap measures in an increasingly technology-dependent economy. More and more, companies are tackling the functional illiteracy problem head-on:

##### Aiding current programs

Nalco's decision to use part of Christiansen's time—and company resources—for fund-raising to create new chapters of the Literacy Volunteers of America is typical. The company's own foundation will be putting money into the project later this year. Aetna Life & Casualty Co. and the Gannett Foundation Co. also donate regularly to literacy programs. Gulf & Western, J.C.



Penney, and Citibank furnish space for tutoring sessions.

A leader in the field, Dayton Hudson Corp.'s B. Dalton Bookseller, has earmarked \$3 million over four years for its literacy program. The company encourages executives and other employees to participate in local programs, both as board members and as tutors. It has also promised to recruit other companies for the campaign with the goal of producing 50,000 volunteer tutors by 1986, a 150% increase over the current number.

Dalton helped found the Coalition for Literacy, a government-private sector alliance that has arranged for Benton & Bowles Inc., the New York advertising agency, to draw up a public service media campaign through the Advertising Council. The campaign has a dual aim: to recruit volunteer tutors and to tell people without basic skills about the free teaching programs available in their communities.

The Business Council for Effective Literacy, founded early this year with \$1 million from Harold W. McGraw, Jr., chairman of McGraw-Hill Inc., which publishes Business Week, will pay about \$300,000 of B&B's out-of-pocket costs in developing the campaign. It is also helping to fund the clearinghouse operation that will handle the calls generated by the ads, referring volunteers and potential students to the best programs. A television program on the illiteracy problem, starring country singer Johnny Cash, generated some 6,000 calls when it was broadcast on 170 commercial television stations in January.

#### Training employees

These projects range from programs that use workers to tutor other employees on a one-to-one basis at Aetna and United Technologies Corp. to a large-scale training program at New York Telephone, which seeks to boost the education of barely literate employees to 9th or 10th grade levels.

Standard Oil Co. (Indiana) hired a former school teacher to give classes in grammar and spelling to newly hired secretaries. Nabisco Brands Inc. offers employees at a Suffolk (Va.) Planters Peanuts factory four hours of elementary school courses a week on company time, with additional classes available on their own time. Polaroid, one of the pioneers in corporate-sponsored basic education, now targets from 500 to 750 employees, a year for such remedial programs, which include teaching English to immigrants. In math, Polaroid teachers find that problem employees can usually handle whole numbers but have trouble with fractions.

Gillette Co. last year paid a public school teacher to give a after-hours instruction to 30 employees at its hair-care products plant in St. Paul, Minn. More than half received high school equivalency certificates. The company, which figures that 100 more of its 600 production workers need the course, will renew the program this fall.

#### Working with public schools

Companies have long been reluctant to lean on school administrators for fear of seeming to criticize the towns where the companies are located. But now they find that the communities want their input.

Dalton gives grants to local school districts to hire speakers who will persuade teachers to put more emphasis on teaching reading skills. A. O. Smith Corp. and Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Co. have "adopted" Milwaukee's Washington High School. They provide tutors, classroom

speakers, and advice on the skills necessary for the job market. Similar programs are springing up in other cities: 30 companies in the Nashville area have adopted schools.

At Texas Instruments, Vice-President Bernard H. List says, "TI's got to do something we've never done before: get involved with the primary and secondary education system." Visiting Dallas schools, he found that "kids were being counseled not to take 'the hard courses.' I was mind-boggled." As a result, TI employees now go into the classroom to talk about why tough math courses are stepping stones to achievement later in life. In addition, 10 company employees began working one day a week with fourth and fifth grade math students in Dallas, helping them discover the excitement of the subject instead of learning by rote. This fall, TI will extend the program to its other plant cities.

So far, the corporate concern with functional illiteracy has focused on the way it affects the employment pool. Eventually, however, a population with deficient reading skills will have to be treated differently as customers, too. In the product-liability area, for instance, "litigation goes on all the time on the adequacy of warnings, and part of the question is adequacy to the literacy level of the user," notes Linda Atkinson, a Detroit lawyer who represents plaintiffs in such suits. And Gloria A. Lanza, vice-president of the American Association of Advertising Agencies in New York City, expresses an even more basic marketing worry: "If we don't have people out there who can read, how can they read our ads?"

#### TRIBUTE TO KATHRYN MICHALOS

● Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I am deeply honored, once again, to take part in Baltimore's annual commemoration of the Holocaust, and to pay tribute to the martyrdom of the 6 million Jewish victims of Nazism. It is a time to reflect upon the lessons which their indescribable suffering—and courage—teaches us. Today, as we look back upon the inhumanity of the Nazi regime, an inhumanity virtually beyond human comprehension, we honor a woman, and the memory of her husband, who risked their lives to defy that inhumanity. I am speaking of Mrs. Kathryn Michalos and her husband, the late Elias Michalos, who sheltered Emmanuel and Emily Velelli from the brutal occupation of Greece more than 40 years ago. In honoring the Michaloses, we also pay deserved tribute to those "righteous gentiles" who, throughout Europe, risked their own lives in order to give life to others.

Justice Brandeis once remarked that:

Of all the peoples in the world, those of two tiny States stand preeminent as contributors to our present civilization: the Greeks and the Jews.

Winston Churchill noted that:

No two other races have set such a mark upon the world. Both the Jews and the Greeks have shown an amazing capacity for survival, in spite of unending perils and sufferings from external oppressors.

In the case of the Velelli family, survival depended upon the shelter and protection that the Michalos family unselfishly provided.

During the German occupation of southern Greece in 1943, Kathryn and Elias Michalos risked imprisonment and death to save the lives of the Velellis, Jews fleeing from Nazi persecution. For many months, the Michalos family provided food, shelter, and friendship. After the Nazis had marched through the village of Patras the first time, the Michaloses home was destroyed and they moved in with the Velelli family for a number of months, constantly worried that they would be discovered. After the village was razed a second time, the families moved from Patras to seek shelter elsewhere.

This friendship did not end with the war, however. As coincidence would have it, both families settled near Baltimore, finding each other through a cousin of the Velelli family. Over the years, they have remained close and dedicated friends, sharing holidays and special occasions, and finding happiness in their many children and grandchildren. The great-grandson of Mrs. Michalos is to be christened after the ceremony for "Holocaust Remembrance Day," and the Velellis will be there to share the joy.

The Michalos family understood well the lesson that Eli Weisel has set down so movingly for us:

We have learned certain lessons. We have learned not to be neutral in times of crisis, for neutrality always helps the aggressor, never the victim. We have learned that silence is never the answer. We have learned that the opposite of love is not hate, but indifference.

#### TRIBUTE TO CLARENCE MITCHELL, JR.

● Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, America has lost a great champion of justice and human dignity. Maryland has lost one of the most distinguished citizens over the sweep of her long history, and we have all lost a wise counselor and good friend.

Clarence Mitchell, Jr., through his moral strength, was a powerful force for a better America. He gave his life to the greatest moral challenge of our time—to make the words engraved in stone above the portals of the Supreme Court—"Equal Justice Under Law"—a reality for all Americans.

Clarence understood the power of the rule of law to American democracy. It is fitting that among his greatest monuments are every piece of civil rights legislation enacted in this generation. He knew that officials all across this land take an oath to uphold and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States. He knew that if the great moral principles to which he dedicated his life could be

incorporated into the laws of the land, it would transform and redeem our society. It is no accident that today in our law making bodies; national, State and local, are to be found the brother and sons of Clarence Mitchell.

He was the patriarch of a distinguished family. Actually, it was a partnership. A partnership for almost half a century with an outstanding fighter for justice in her own right.

But Clarence was also a patriarch of our Nation. He counseled us wisely and with a deep sense of idealism that drew us always upward to a higher and better standard.

Clarence knew however that the struggle was not over. He knew that we must press on. Only last month, in one of his last speeches to the NEA Conference on Civil Rights, he said:

But it is not enough to keep the memory of past struggles alive. It is not enough to see that the law is administered fully and fairly. There are new rivers to cross, new mountains to climb, and a star toward which we should reach. When we have men and women in office who care about the hungry, who work to shelter the homeless, who want a living wage for even the lowest persons in the work force, who want to end ignorance, who want to provide health care for the sick and economic security for the aged, will we be able to reach that star. When we do, the world will be a better place because we will have set the right example of how humans should live together.

We mourn his death, we celebrate his life, we treasure his friendship and we reaffirm our commitment to the enduring values for which he fought.

I ask that excerpts from Clarence Mitchell's speech to the NEA and several articles about this great leader be printed in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 19, 1984]  
CIVIL RIGHTS CHAMPION CLARENCE MITCHELL  
JR. DIES

(By Martin Weil)

Clarence M. Mitchell Jr., 73, a lifelong champion of equality for blacks who played a key role in winning passage of much of the major civil rights legislation of the 1960s, died last night at the Maryland General Hospital in Baltimore.

As the chief Washington lobbyist for the NAACP for nearly three decades, Mr. Mitchell combined conviction, persistence and quiet persuasive power. In his ultimately successful quest for the landmark measures of the '60s, he displayed skills and talents that won him the sobriquet of "the 101st Senator."

Both as the NAACP's man in Washington, and as a principal in the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, which he helped found, Mr. Mitchell was instrumental in passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Fair Housing Act of 1968.

A lawyer and a former newspaper reporter whose career was galvanized when in 1933 he witnessed his first lynching, Mr. Mitchell was a leading member of a family that in Maryland, his home state, and in Baltimore, his hometown, symbolized civil rights and the NAACP.

Known as a man of courage and integrity, Mr. Mitchell persisted optimistically

through years of resistance and rebuff to seek the common ground and consensus that in time permitted him to witness passage of the bills that helped guarantee equality before the law.

Despite his successes, his name was not nearly so well known to the general public as many of the other principal actors in the social and legislative revolution of the 1960s.

Firmly committed to the goal of full integration of blacks into the American mainstream, Mr. Mitchell shunned the separatist doctrine and militant tactics that might have won him greater visibility.

A modest and unassuming man, whose arena of action was the congressional office and conference room, he neither sought nor attained the broad public recognition to which his accomplishments entitled him.

Before the days in which meaningful civil rights legislation was possible, Mr. Mitchell prompted and promoted advances through executive orders, such as the one by which President Truman demanded the desegregation of the Armed Forces.

During the Eisenhower administration, Mr. Mitchell was credited with guiding to passage the 1957 Civil Rights Act, the first legislation of its kind in years. He was also recognized among legislative insiders and being instrumental in passage of the 1961 act that set up the federal Civil Rights Commission.

Beyond his work in shepherding to passage the civil rights bills of the '60s, Mr. Mitchell is cited as the author of a key section of at least one of them. Title VII of the 1964 bill, which required equal employment opportunity.

As chairman of the leadership conference on civil rights, Mr. Mitchell employed his lobbying skills in helping to bring about the rejection by the Senate of the nominations to the Supreme Court of Clement Haynsworth and G. Harrold Carswell.

Despite the not infrequent bitterness and strong feelings bound up in the long struggle in which Mr. Mitchell was engaged, he was himself viewed as generous and conciliatory towards his foes, often finding it possible to say a good word about all but the harshest among them.

A man who carried a picket sign to help desegregate Baltimore schools, and who was arrested for going through the main door of a South Carolina railroad station, Mr. Mitchell knew the values of direct action.

But, he said, "you've got to know when to stop picketing and sit down at the conference table."

In 1980, the year he left his leadership conference post, and two years after leaving the NAACP post, Mr. Mitchell received the nation's highest civilian honor, the Presidential Medal of Freedom, from President Carter.

He was also appointed as a U.S. representative to the United Nations by President Ford, and at the time of his death, was a member of the board of regents of the University of Maryland, from which he held his law degree.

Mr. Mitchell was born in Baltimore, where he lived for the last four decades at the same inner-city address. His father, a musician, and his mother, a cashier, enforced daily study hours for their seven children, who included Mr. Mitchell's brother, U.S. Rep. Parren J. Mitchell (D-Md.).

"He was one of the most remarkable human beings I've ever met," Rep. Mitchell said last night of his brother.

Sen. Paul Sarbanes (D-Md.) called Mr. Mitchell "a great champion of justice and

human dignity" who was "a powerful force for a better America."

John Toll, president of the University of Maryland, described his death as a "serious loss" for the nation and called him "an inspiring leader" in the work for equality, justice and a better society.

After receiving a bachelor's degree from Lincoln University in Chester, Pa., Mr. Mitchell became a reporter for the Baltimore Afro-American newspaper. The lynching he saw as a newsman in Princess Ann, Md., made him decide on a civil rights career.

After work for the Urban League in the Midwest, he joined the federal government in assignments that included enforcing World War II antidiscrimination orders in shipyards. He was labor secretary of the NAACP from 1945 until becoming director of the Washington bureau in 1950.

In recent years, he and his wife Juanita, the first black woman to practice law in Maryland, were joined by a son, Michael, a Baltimore City Councilman, in the firm of Mitchell, Mitchell and Mitchell. Another son, Clarence III, is in the state legislature.

Survivors include two other sons, Keiffer J., and George D.

[From the Baltimore Sun, Mar. 20, 1984]

A MIGHTY CHANGE: BUT THERE ARE NEW  
RIVERS TO CROSS

(By Clarence Mitchell)

WASHINGTON.—Twenty years ago we were gearing up for a crucial vote in the Senate on civil rights. The civil rights bill which had been passed by a massive vote of 290 to 130 in the House of Representatives was in danger of being buried in the Senate Judiciary Committee by a hostile chairman, James O. Eastland of Mississippi. Fortunately, under the Senate rules the bill could be brought to the floor without reference to the committee.

Those of us backing the bill supported the move for direct floor consideration. Efforts at the White House and hard work, both in and outside the Senate, paid off. On February 26, 1964, the Senate voted 54 to 37 to put the bill on the calendar instead of sending it to committee. There followed the long fight that was climaxed when the Senate voted 71 to 29 to invoke cloture on June 10. President Johnson signed the bill into law on July 2, 1964.

There is no question about the great value of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. It has made possible changes in our society that some believed could not be accomplished in another hundred years after the abolition of human slavery. The change for the better has been so complete that many of those in our country who were children of tender years in 1964 cannot believe that conditions the law was designed to correct actually existed.

The great names of 1964 like A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young and James Farmer are somehow merged into a composite that usually mentions only Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Even Dr. King's memory is sometimes blurred by the passage of time and there are those in the new generation who do not know why we honor him.

Thus it seems that one of our first tasks in the education of children is to teach them where we were as a nation before 1964 and how we have gotten to where we are now. We must let them know the price we paid in time, labor, money, property and even human lives to erase the blatant practices of



discrimination and segregation that were our nation's shame. We must also recruit and develop dedicated people to run the agencies created by this law.

But it is not enough to keep the memory of past struggles alive. It is not enough to see that the law is administered fully and fairly. There are new rivers to cross, new mountains to climb and a star toward which we should reach.

The signs saying which entrance blacks may use are down. But there are more deadly ways to bar access. One of these is the use of dubious tests to decide whether an applicant may be admitted to a college, whether a promising young person may be admitted to law or medical school and now there is even a strong move to use a test to decide whether one may be admitted to training to be qualified as a teacher.

I say to you that these tests are like an evil river whose rising waters are a threat to the aspirations of the present generation. They are creating ways to accomplish new discrimination against the victims who do not pass them and wealth for those who devise them. After careful consideration, I have concluded that the trend toward using tests to bar persons from careers of their own choosing or jobs for which they are fully qualified must be stopped. I hope that your great organization will meet the new challenge by carefully developing the facts that will expose and discredit those who are responsible for this monstrous fraud in our times.

For those who are fortunate enough to get past the test obstacle there is another barrier of mountainous proportions. It is the secret method of denying promotions to those who deserve them. How often do we still hear of blacks who train new white employees and then one day the employee that they have trained becomes the boss? How often do we see college campuses where women are employed as assistant or associate professors but somehow do not get tenure?

How often do we read the dreary figures on the income gap between white and black wage earners? Here again there is a challenge that we must meet. We must pierce the veil of deceit and conspiracy that makes these wrongs possible. We must use our best skills, much of our resources and all else that is needed to destroy these practices just as we destroyed the more obvious discriminatory techniques of the past.

In spite of the new obstacles that exist, we have great resources to deal with them. I see these resources when I hear the words and see the accomplishments of a great woman, Mary H. Futrell, who is president of this organization. These resources are apparent when the mayor of Detroit moves to give black policemen opportunities to be promoted on merit and that decision is upheld first by a U.S. District Court judge named Damon Keith. Then Judge Keith's decision is upheld by the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals on which sits the distinguished Judge Nathaniel Jones. All three of these men—the mayor and the two judges—are black. They hold their offices because together we have wrought a mighty change in our land.

Finally, I will say a word about that activity that is perhaps closest to my heart. It is political action. Not long ago I was in Mississippi and heard Dr. Aaron Henry, a member of the House in that state, being called back from a speaking engagement to cast a crucial vote. It was not many years ago that Mississippi's legislature was off limits for

blacks. Now, not only are they there, but they are serving with distinction. Later, I received word that my longtime friend and NAACP stalwart, the Rev. I. deQuincy Newman, had become the first black since Reconstruction to serve in the South Carolina Senate.

In the South and throughout the country there is a rising tide of interest in seeking public office. There is an equal determination to elect qualified candidates and also to make certain that from the highest office down to the most obscure county official we will give early and effective support to those candidates who stand for equal justice and freedom for all people of whatever race, sex, national origin, age or religion.

When we have men and women in public office who care about the hungry, who work to shelter the homeless, who want a living wage for even the lowest persons in the work force, who want to end ignorance, who want to provide health care for the sick and economic security for the aged, we will be able to reach that star. When we do, the world will be a better place because we will have set the right example of how humans should live together.

[From the Baltimore Sun, March 1984]

CLARENCE MITCHELL: MAN WHO WAS ALWAYS THERE

(By Peter Kumpa)

Clarence M. Mitchell Jr., was the man who was always there then the major civil rights laws of the country were written, debated and passed by the Congress.

During a two-year stretch two decades ago, when I covered the civil rights beat in Washington, he was present at every skirmish and at every battle. He was there testifying, listening, helping at the subcommittee level and in the full House Judiciary Committee when the omnibus Civil Rights Bill was written, then passed.

And when the legislation found its way over to the Senate side, he was there as well for every moment of the legislative conflict that eventually led to the smashing of a filibuster before basic civil rights could be written into our laws.

That's the reason that Clarence Mitchell was called the 101st U.S. senator. He was there.

As head of the Washington office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Mitchell wasn't simply a silent witness to history. For members of Congress, he was the prime source of moral pressure for the cause of racial justice. He advised and caajoed. He exhorted and he pleaded usually privately.

He never seemed defeated. He was always the certain optimist, the one who knew that obstacles were made to be overcome.

For reporters, he was one of these silent sources of information, a man who knew the law, and the history of any given bit of civil rights legislation. And he was always completely up-to-date, the man you checked with daily on the progress of legislation that marked the high-point of the decade of the Sixties. And he was always there.

Clarence Mitchell was not a shouter or a screamer when he testified before Congress. He was a gentle man and a gentleman. He was reasoned passion. He was intellectual persuasion. He was a polished witness for his cause. And he was an effective one.

Only once do we remember him breaking out in anger.

It was in October 1963. Chairman Emmanuel Celler of the House Judiciary Committee had met behind closed doors on and off

for two days with U.S. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy to decide on a new strategy for a stalled omnibus Civil Rights Bill. To win some marginal Democrats and Republican, they decided to strip away some titles that had been approved by a subcommittee.

Celler said he was sorry he had to drop some of the bill. "There's and old Turkish saying that you roll up your pants when you come to the water," he explained. Kennedy backed him up.

Clarence Mitchell was outraged. He talked first to the pencil press, then grabbed the television cameras. "There is no reason for this kind of a sellout," he shouted.

He was particularly angry at provisions in the bill that would weaken powers of the attorney general to intervene in some nasty cases of official brutality in the South. Mitchell stormed that what was left would be "wholly inadequate to deal with police brutality, Negroes subjected to cattle prods, people bombed and thrown out of their own churches."

Meticulous in his preparation, Mitchell had his own count of congressmen to show that the Kennedy administration didn't have to compromise. "I think the administration ought to go and fight," he told Robert Kennedy.

One of the reasons for Mitchell's anger had been the June 1963 assassination of Medgar Evers in Mississippi. He blamed the administration for being "too little and too late" in protecting black civil workers in the South.

In time, Mitchell won his battle. If he were with us today, he could testify that the fight was closely won, never easy and never certain. And if he were here, he would be sure to tell us all that the fight for equal justice is never over and never completely won.

Sunday, Mitchell died at the age of 73, another giant gone from that historic era of change. He leaves us with more than memories. He left so much of his innate decency and wisdom in his writings, much of it in his columns in *The Sun*.

In his native Baltimore, he fought for black advancement in politics. "It must be remembered," he wrote, "black aspirations in politics do not imply hostility towards whites. The goal is a place at the decision-making table and partnership in governing."

Mitchell graduated from Lincoln (Pa.) University in 1932 during the Great Depression, when millions were out of work and the rumblings of war could be heard from across the oceans. Fifty years later, he found that his class had made it and so he could advise today's graduates: "You face conditions of uncertainty and personal risk much like those of our time but, remember, we made it and you, too, can succeed."

Mitchell was the optimist. He had a faith in all of us and in the decency of society.

Mitchell, we should emphasize, was more than an activist for civil rights. He defended the cause of the poor. He fought against anti-Semitism. His cause was far broader as he once noted when he quoted some forgotten lines from the historic August 1963 march on Washington. The memories of Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I have a dream" speech are sometimes so overwhelming that we forget other words that were spoken that day.

A. Philip Randolph, the union leader who conceived the idea for the march, also spoke and Mitchell quoted his lines once as "the best description" of the purpose of the event.

"We are the advance guard of a massive moral revolution for jobs and freedom," said Randolph, "but this civil rights revolution is not confined to the Negro, nor is it confined to civil rights, for our white allies know that they cannot be free while we are not. We want a free democratic society dedicated to the political, economic and social advancement of man along moral lines."

In his lifetime, Mitchell won many, many honors. It would be easy to list them, but I am sure that the child who grew up poor in the 1300 block of little Stockton Street in Baltimore would prefer to be remembered as a man who stood for the advancement of man along moral lines.

[From the Baltimore Afro-American, Apr. 14, 1984]

MEMORIAL SERVICES SET FOR FRIDAY NOON  
(By Elizabeth M. Oliver)

BALTIMORE.—Last rites for Clarence M. Mitchell Jr., the longtime National Civil Rights leader, will be in the form of a memorial service, 12 noon, Friday, March 23 at Sharp Street Methodist Church, Dolphin and Etting Streets, Baltimore.

Mr. Mitchell died Sunday, March 18 at 8:32 p.m. at Maryland General Hospital. He was 73.

His body has been donated to science.

The family asks that no flowers be sent. Instead, his widow, Mrs. Juanita Jackson Mitchell, asks that donations be sent to the Lillie Carroll Jackson Museum and the NAACP in care of the office of Attorney Michael Bowen Mitchell, 37th Floor, 222 St. Paul St., Baltimore, MD. 21202.

Mr. Mitchell was stricken with an apparent heart attack Sunday afternoon. He and Mrs. Mitchell, the noted civil rights attorney, walked home about 1 p.m. from Sharp Street Church where the family holds life-long membership. While Mrs. Mitchell, his wife of 46 years, was preparing breakfast in the kitchen, Mr. Mitchell suddenly fell at the dining room table.

He was rushed to Maryland General Hospital, the closest hospital, by ambulance. At his side were his wife, Mrs. Mitchell; brother, Congressman Parren J. Mitchell; sons, City Councilman Michael Bowen Mitchell and George Davis Mitchell.

Summoned by phone were his other sons, Dr. Keiffer J. Mitchell who was in Virginia and State Senator Clarence M. Mitchell III who was in Los Angeles, CA. with his wife.

Mr. Mitchell was for decades in the halls of Congress waging a fight for civil rights of black citizens and was fondly known as the 101st U.S. Senator.

On June 30, 1980 he received the Presidential Medal of Freedom from President Jimmy Carter in the Rose Garden of the White House.

The citation praised him for his stubborn, resourceful and historic campaign for social justice and stated, "The integrity of this 101st Senator has earned him the respect of friends and adversaries alike."

"His brilliant advocacy helped translate into law the protests and aspirations of millions consigned too long to second-class citizenship. The hard won fruits of his labors have made America a better and stronger nation."

Mr. Mitchell retired Dec. 31, 1978 after 32 years as director of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP.

He was the chairman of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights until April 29, 1981 when he became Honorary Chairman of the group of 150 organizations formed 30 years ago.

The Mitchells have resided in their inner city 1324 Druid Hill Ave. residence over 40 years.

Mr. Mitchell's career in civil rights and interest in politics he often said, came as the result of his being assigned as an AFRD reporter in 1932 by Carl Murphy editor of the Baltimore based newspaper.

His most meaningful assignment in 1933, he often told this reporter, was the lynching of George Armwood in Princess Anne, Md. It was then he decided upon his life of fighting for (social justice). He often boasted that he was a "newspaper man" and encouraged young people to go into the field of journalism.

Mr. Mitchell was appointed in 1982 by the governor of Maryland to a 5-year term on the Board of Regents of the University of Maryland.

He was awarded the Spingarn Medal at the NAACP National convention July 1, 1969 in Jackson, MI. for his efforts in obtaining passage of civil rights bills such as the 1957 Civil Rights Act.

Mr. Mitchell was born in Baltimore March 8, 1911, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Clarence M. Mitchell Sr.

In addition to his wife, Mrs. Juanita J. Mitchell, surviving are sons, Dr. Keiffer Jackson Mitchell, physician and surgeon; State Senator Clarence M. Mitchell, III; George Davis Mitchell, contractor; and Michael Bowen Mitchell, the City Council man and attorney, all of Baltimore.

Mr. Mitchell is also survived by two brothers, Congressman Parren J. Mitchell and George Mitchell, retired teacher, both of Baltimore; two sisters, Mrs. Anna Mae Mitchell Gittings, Baltimore; and Mrs. Evelyn Mitchell Ross, Pittsburgh, PA. the eldest, who was confined to the hospital there with a sudden illness Sunday, the same day as her brother.

The grandchildren are Clarence M. Mitchell IV, Lisa M. Mitchell, Keiffer J. Mitchell Jr., Kelley J. Mitchell, Kathleen J. Mitchell, Michael B. Mitchell Jr., Micah M. Mitchell, Cheryl Jennifer Mitchell, Juanita Elizabeth Jackson Mitchell, Karla Kenyatta Mitchell, George Davis Rockford Mitchell Jr., and Lauren E. Mitchell—EMO

Here in part are some of Mr. Mitchell's accomplishments which are listed in the biographical sketch compiled by his family:

His singular efforts led to the passage of the civil rights bills such as the 1957 Civil Rights Act which gave the attorney general of the United States power to institute civil suits to protect the right to vote;

Established the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice and the United States Civil Rights Commission.

The 1964 law forbidding discrimination in place of public accommodation. Establishing an Equal Employment Opportunity Agency and prohibiting discrimination in the expenditure of federal funds.

The 1965 Voting Rights Act which authorizes the appointment of federal examiners to certify eligibility of persons to register and vote, and prohibits literacy tests. The Fair Housing Act of 1968 which outlaws discrimination in the sale and rental of housing and also increases penalties against those who interfere with persons exercising their civil rights.

In 1970 and 1975, Mr. Mitchell and his colleagues led the successful fight to extend the Voting Rights Act's ban against literacy tests for an additional five years. Mr. Mitchell led acceptance of the amendments giving the 19-year-olds the right to vote, which passed.

They joined in supporting the successful effort to pass the 1972 legislation giving enforcement powers to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

In 1978, Mr. Mitchell joined with women's organizations in successfully amending the Equal Employment Opportunity Act to forbid discrimination against women workers during pregnancy and childbirth and to assure their coverage under company health plans. This had been denied under a Supreme Court decision (*Gilbert v. General Electric*).

In 1978 and 1979, Mr. Mitchell worked successfully with others to get the Carter Administration to propose and Congress to approve strengthening civil rights reorganization, including establishing for the first time a top legal civil rights unit in the office of Management and Budget.

Mr. Mitchell has also worked successfully with members of the American Bar Association for increases in salaries for federal judges. He is a former member of the American Bar Association's Commission to Establish a National Institute for Justice.

Mr. Mitchell gave his first Congressional testimony on his eyewitness account of a lynching that occurred in 1933. His government service includes executive posts with President Roosevelt's Fair Employment Practice Committee, the War Production Board. He has also given volunteer services to government committees to which he was appointed by Presidents Truman, Eisenhower and Johnson.

President Ford appointed Mr. Mitchell as member of the five person delegation representing the United States as the Seventh Special Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations beginning in the fall of 1975.

Other members of the delegation were two Ambassadors from the Department of State and two members of the House of Representatives. There were also five alternates.

On Jan. 26, 1976, Democratic and Republican leaders of the United States Senate and House of Representatives offered resolutions honoring Mr. Mitchell for 30 years of legislative service and "expressing gratitude for his contributions to the enhancement of life in America."

The resolutions were passed in both Houses. President Ford also sent a message of commendation. A similar action was taken by the Senate in 1978 on his retirement.

His education is as follows: A. B. Lincoln University, Pennsylvania; graduate work at Atlanta University and the University of Minnesota; Juris Doctor, Law School, University of Maryland; Honorary Doctor of Laws Degrees from Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland; Lincoln University, Oxford, Pennsylvania; Boston University, Boston Massachusetts.

Howard University, Washington, D.C.; Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.; John Carroll University, Cleveland, Ohio; Honorary Doctor of Humane Letters from University of Maryland, College Park, and Western Maryland College, Westminster, Maryland; Honorary Doctor of Civil Law from Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

In 1973, he received the Adam Clayton Powell Award from the Congressional Black Caucus for his contributions in the field of human rights.

In 1983 Senator Charles McC. Mathias appointed Mr. Mitchell to be chairman of his Judicial Merit Selection Committee.



In 1983 Mayor William Donald Schaefer appointed Mr. Mitchell to be a member of his Blue Ribbon Cable T.V. Committee.

Among the notables expected in Baltimore Friday for the memorial service for Clarence M. Mitchell Jr., are Supreme Court Associate Justice Thurgood Marshall, former Senator Ed Brooke, former presidential advisor Louis Martin, Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP.

Other Civil Rights leaders and legislators expected are Joe Rauh, Arnold Arunson, Senator Charles Mathias, Charles Diggs, Joseph Lowery, John Jacob, Dorothy Height, Jack Greenberg, Randall Robinson, Leon Sullivan, Maynard Jackson, Ralph Neis, Eddie Williams and Senator Paul Sarbanes. ●

## CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

## RECESS UNTIL 2 P.M.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will stand in recess until the hour of 2 p.m.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 12:29 p.m., recessed until 2 p.m.; whereupon, the Senate reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. ARMSTRONG).

## MISCELLANEOUS TARIFF, TRADE, AND CUSTOMS MATTERS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will now resume consideration of H.R. 2163, which the clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 2163) to amend the Federal Boat Safety Act of 1971, and for other purposes.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill.

### AMENDMENT NO. 3027

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader is recognized.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, as I indicated earlier during the opening moments of the session today, it would be my purpose to offer an amendment to the pending bill.

For myself, Senators DOLE, DOMENICI, GARN, HATFIELD, LAXALT, TOWER, and STEVENS, I now send that amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Tennessee (Mr. BAKER) for himself, and Senators DOLE, DOMENICI, GARN, HATFIELD, LAXALT, TOWER, and STEVENS proposes amendment No. 3027.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

On page 25, line 7, strike "Act." and insert the following: "Act."

## TITLE II—CIVIL SERVICE PROGRAMS

### COST-OF-LIVING ADJUSTMENTS UNDER THE CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT SYSTEM

SEC. 201. (a) Subsections (a) and (b) of section 8340 of title 5, United States Code, are amended to read as follows:

"(a) For the purpose of this section—

"(1) the term 'base quarter', as used with respect to a year, means the calendar quarter ending on September 30 of such year; and

"(2) the price index for a base quarter is the arithmetical mean of such index for the 3 months comprising such quarter.

"(b) Except as provided in subsection (c) of this section, effective December 1 of each year, each annuity payable from the Fund having a commencing date not later than such December 1 shall be increased by the percent change in the price index for the base quarter of such year over the price index for the base quarter of the latest preceding year in which an increase under this subsection was made, adjusted to the nearest  $\frac{1}{10}$  of 1 percent."

(b)(1) The amendments made by subsection (a) shall take effect on the date of the enactment of this Act, except that no adjustment under section 8340(b) of title 5, United States Code (as amended by such subsection), shall be made during the period beginning on the date of the enactment of this Act and ending November 30, 1984.

(2) For purposes of the first increase under subsection (b) of section 8340 of title 5, United States Code (as amended by subsection (a)) after the date of enactment of this Act, an increase under such subsection (as so amended) shall be deemed to have been made effective December 1, 1983.

(c) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, beginning with the monthly rate payable for December 1984, any annuity or retired or retirement pay payable under any retirement system for Government officers or employees which the President adjusts pursuant to section 8340(b) of title 5, United States Code (as amended by subsection (a)), shall hereafter be paid no earlier than the first business day of the succeeding month.

(d) Subsection (b) of section 301 of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1982 (96 Stat. 790; 5 U.S.C. 8340 note) is repealed.

### PAY COMPARABILITY ADJUSTMENT FOR FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

SEC. 202. (a)(1) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, in the case of fiscal year 1984, the overall percentage of the adjustment under section 5305 of title 5, United States Code, in the rates of pay under the General Schedule, and in the rates of pay under the other statutory pay systems shall be an increase of 3.5 percent.

(2) The adjustment pursuant to paragraph (1) shall take effect on the first day of the first applicable pay period commencing on or after January 1, 1984.

(b) Section 5305 of title 5, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)(2), by inserting "the first January 1 after" before "October 1"; and

(2) in the first sentence of subsection (c)(2), by inserting "the first January 1 after" before "October 1"; and

(3) in subsection (m), by striking out "October 1" and inserting in lieu thereof "the first January 1 after October 1 of the applicable year".

(c)(1) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, in the case of a prevailing rate employee described in section 5342(a)(2) of title 5, United States Code, or an employee covered by section 5348 of such title—

(A) any increase in the rate of pay payable to such employee which would result from the expiration of the limitation contained in section 107(a) of Public Law 97-377 (96 Stat. 1909) shall not take effect, and

(B) any adjustment under subchapter IV of chapter 53 of such title to any wage schedule or rate applicable to such employee which results from a wage survey and which (without regard to paragraph (4) of this subsection) is scheduled to become effective during fiscal year 1984 shall not exceed the schedule or rate payable on September 30, 1983 (determined with regard to the limitation contained in section 107(a) of Public Law 97-377) by more than 3.5 percent.

(2) Notwithstanding the provisions of section 9(b) of Public Law 92-392 or section 704(b) of the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978, the provisions of paragraph (1) shall apply (in such manner as the Office of Personnel Management shall prescribe) to prevailing rate employees to whom such section 9(b) applies, except that the provisions of paragraph (1) shall not apply to any increase in a wage schedule or rate which is required by the terms of a contract entered into before October 1, 1983.

(3) The provisions of paragraph (1) shall not apply with respect to wage adjustments for prevailing rate supervisors under the supervisory pay plan published in the Federal Register on May 21, 1982 (47 Fed. Reg. 22100).

(4) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, any adjustment in a wage schedule or rate that—

(A) applies to a prevailing rate employee described in section 5342(a)(2) of title 5, United States Code, or that applies to an employee who is covered by section 5348 of such title, or who is subject to paragraph (2) of this subsection;

(B) results from a wage survey; and

(C) would take effect, were it not for this paragraph, on or after October 1, 1983,

shall not take effect until the first day of the first applicable pay period beginning not less than 90 days after the day on which such adjustment would, were it not for this paragraph, otherwise have taken effect. The Office of Personnel Management shall take such actions as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this paragraph.

### DEDUCTION FROM CIVILIAN PAY FOR COST-OF-LIVING ADJUSTMENT OF RETIRED OR RETAINER PAY

SEC. 203. Subsection (d) of section 301 of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1982 (96 Stat. 791; 5 U.S.C. 5332 note) is repealed.

### LEAVE FOR CERTAIN OVERSEAS EMPLOYEES

SEC. 204. Subsection (a) of section 6 of the Defense Department Overseas Teachers Pay and Personnel Practices Act (73 Stat. 214; 20 U.S.C. 904(a)) is amended by striking out "except that—" and all that follows through the end of such subsection and inserting in lieu thereof "except that if the school year includes more than eight months, any such teacher who shall have served for the entire school year shall be entitled to ten days of cumulative leave with pay."

CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT DEPOSITS COVERING  
MILITARY SERVICE

SEC. 205. The first sentence of section 306(g) of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1982 (5 U.S.C. 8331 note) is amended by striking out "October 1, 1983" and inserting in lieu thereof "October 1, 1985".

PAY INCREASES FOR CERTAIN EMPLOYEES IN  
PANAMA

SEC. 206. (a) Section 1225(b)(2) of the Panama Canal Act of 1979 (Public Law 96-70; 93 Stat. 468) is amended to read as follows:

"(2) Each time the rates of basic pay under the General Schedule are increased under section 5305 of title 5, United States Code, the rate of basic pay for each individual referred to in paragraph (1) shall be increased by the amount which is equal to the overall average percentage by which the rates of pay under the General Schedule are increased under such section at such time."

(b) The amendment made by subsection (a) shall take effect with respect to basic pay for service performed on or after the date of enactment of this act.

SEC. 207. (a) For the purposes of this section, the term "covered retirement system" shall have the same meaning as provided in section 203(a)(2) of the Federal Employees' Retirement Contribution Temporary Adjustment Act of 1983 (Public Law 98-168; 97 Stat. 1107).

(b)(1) Any individual who performed service of a type referred to in clause (i), (ii), (iii), or (iv) of section 210(a)(5) of the Social Security Act beginning on or before December 31, 1983, and who did not make an election under section 208(a) of the Federal Employees' Retirement Contribution Temporary Adjustment Act of 1983 (97 Stat. 1111) before the date of enactment of this Act, may make an election under such section 208(a) not later than 30 days after the date of enactment of this Act.

(2) Any such individual who, before the date of enactment of this Act, made an election under section 208(a) of the Federal Employees' Retirement Contribution Temporary Adjustment Act of 1983 may, not later than 30 days after the date of enactment of this Act, make any other election which such individual was entitled to make under such section 208(a) before January 1, 1984.

(3)(A) Not later than 30 days after the date of enactment of this Act, any such individual who, before the date of enactment of this Act, made an election under paragraph (1)(B) or (2)(B) of section 208(a) of the Federal Employees' Retirement Contribution Temporary Adjustment Act of 1983 may elect that sections 201 through 207 of such Act apply with respect to the participation of such individual in a covered retirement system.

(B) Sections 201 through 207 of such Act shall apply in accordance with an election under subparagraph (A).

(4) An election under this subsection shall be made by a written application submitted to the official by whom the electing individual is paid.

(5) An election made as provided in this subsection shall take effect with respect to service performed on or after the first day of the first applicable pay period commencing after the date which is 30 days after the date of enactment of this Act.

(c)(1) Section 8342(a)(4) of title 5, United States Code, does not apply for the purpose of determining an entitlement to a refund under section 208(c) of the Federal Employ-

ees' Retirement Contribution Temporary Adjustment Act of 1983 (97 Stat. 1111).

(2) Paragraph (1) shall take effect with respect to any election made under section 208(a) of such Act or this Act before, on, or after January 1, 1984.

(d) Nothing in this section or the Federal Employees' Retirement Contribution Temporary Adjustment Act of 1983 affects any entitlement to benefits accrued under a covered retirement system before January 1, 1984, except to the extent that any amount refunded under section 208(c) of such Act is not redeposited in the applicable retirement fund.

TITLE III—SMALL BUSINESS  
PROGRAMS

CHANGES IN LAW TO ACHIEVE COST SAVINGS

SEC. 301. The first sentence of section 18(a) of the Small Business Act is amended by striking "1983" and inserting in lieu thereof "1986".

TITLE IV—VETERANS' BENEFITS AND  
SERVICES

LIMITATIONS ON LEGISLATION INCREASING  
RATES OF BENEFITS

SEC. 401. (a) No legislation that would increase one or more rates of the benefits under chapter 11 or 13 of title 38, United States Code, effective in fiscal year 1984 shall be enacted if such legislation would cause the total costs of legislation increasing such rates in fiscal year 1984 to exceed \$175,500,000 in budget authority or \$145,300,000 in outlays in fiscal year 1984.

(b) In the event that legislation to increase rates of benefits under chapter 11 or 13 of title 38, United States Code, effective in fiscal year 1985 or 1986, is enacted, such legislation shall not take effect before December 1, 1984, or December 1, 1985, respectively.

SECTION 1. Section 201(b)(8) of the Federal Credit Union Act (12 U.S.C. 1781(b)(8)) is amended to read as follows:

"(8) to pay and maintain its deposit and to pay the premium charges for insurance imposed by this title; and"

SEC. 2. Section 202(b) of the Federal Credit Union Act (12 U.S.C. 1782(b)) is amended to read as follows:

"(b) For each insurance year, each insured credit union which became insured prior to the beginning of that year shall file with the Board, at such time as the Board prescribes, a certified statement showing the total amount of insured shares in the credit union at the close of the preceding insurance year and both the amount of its deposit or adjustment thereof and the amount of the premium charge for insurance due to the fund for that year, both as computed under subsection (c) of this section. The certified statements required to be filed with the Board pursuant to this subsection shall be in such form and shall set forth such supporting information as the Board shall require. Each such statement shall be certified by the president of the credit union, or by any officer of the credit union designated by its board of directors, that to the best of his knowledge and belief that statement is true, correct, and complete and in accordance with this title and regulations issued thereunder."

SEC. 3. Section 202(c) of the Federal Credit Union Act (12 U.S.C. 1782(c)) is amended—

- (1) by striking out paragraph (2);
- (2) by redesignating paragraph (1) as paragraph (2);
- (3) by striking out "Except as provided in paragraph (2) of this subsection, each" in

paragraph (2), as redesignated, and inserting in lieu thereof "Each";

(4) by striking out "on or before January 31 of each insurance year" in paragraph (2), as redesignated, and inserting in lieu thereof "at such time as the Board prescribes";

(5) by striking out "member accounts" in paragraph (2), as redesignated, and inserting in lieu thereof "insured shares"; and

(6) by inserting before paragraph (2) the following:

"(1) Each insured credit union shall pay to and maintain with the National Credit Union Share Insurance Fund a deposit in an amount equaling 1 per centum of the credit union's insured shares. The Board may, in its discretion, authorize insured credit unions to initially fund such deposit over a period of time in excess of one year if necessary to avoid adverse effects on the condition of insured credit unions. The amount of each insured credit union's deposit shall be adjusted annually, in accordance with procedures determined by the Board, to reflect changes in the credit union's insured shares. The deposit shall be returned to an insured credit union in the event that its insurance coverage is terminated, it converts to insurance coverage from another source, or in the event the operations of the fund are transferred from the National Credit Union Administration Board. The deposit shall be returned in accordance with procedures and valuation methods determined by the Board, but in no event shall the deposit be returned any later than one year after the final date on which no shares of the credit union are insured by the Board. The deposit shall not be returned in the event of liquidation on account of bankruptcy or insolvency. The deposit funds may be used by the fund if necessary to meet its expenses, in which case the amount so used shall be expensed and shall be replenished by insured credit unions in accordance with procedures established by the Board."

SEC. 4. Section 202(c)(3) of the Federal Credit Union Act (12 U.S.C. 1782(c)(3)) is amended to read as follows:

"(3) When, at the end of a given insurance year, any loans to the fund from the Federal Government and the interest thereon have been repaid and the equity of the fund exceeds the normal operating level, the Board shall effect for that insurance year a pro rata distribution to insured credit unions of an amount sufficient to reduce the equity in the fund to its normal operating level."

SEC. 5. Section 202(c)(4) of the Federal Credit Union Act (12 U.S.C. 1782(c)(4)) is repealed.

SEC. 6. Subsections (d) through (f) of section 202 of the Federal Credit Union Act (12 U.S.C. 1782 (d) through (f)) are amended—

(1) by inserting "its deposit or" before the words "the premium charge" and "any premium charge" each time they appear; and

(2) by striking out "member accounts" and inserting in lieu thereof "insured shares".

SEC. 7. Section 202(g) of the Federal Credit Union Act (12 U.S.C. 1782(g)) is amended—

(1) by striking out "statements, and premium charges" and inserting in lieu thereof "statements, and deposit and premium charges";

(2) by striking out "payment of any premium charge" and inserting in lieu thereof "payment of any deposit or adjustment thereof or any premium charge"; and

(3) by striking out "any premium charge for insurance" and inserting in lieu thereof



"any deposit of adjustment thereof or any premium charge for insurance".

Sec. 8. Section 202(h)(1) of the Federal Credit Union Act (12 U.S.C. 1782(h)(1)) is amended by inserting before the semicolon at the end thereof the following: ", unless otherwise prescribed by the Board".

Sec. 9. Section 202(h)(2) of the Federal Credit Union Act (12 U.S.C. 1782(h)(2)) is amended to read as follows:

"(2) the term 'normal operating level', when applied to the fund, means an amount equal to 1.3 per centum of the aggregate amount of the insured shares in all insured credit unions, or such lower level as the Board may determine; and".

Sec. 10. Section 202(h)(3) of the Federal Credit Union Act (12 U.S.C. 1782(h)(3)) is amended to read as follows:

"(3) the term 'insured shares' when applied to this section includes share, share draft, share certificate and other similar accounts as determined by the Board, but does not include amounts in excess of the insured account limit set forth in section 207(c)(1)".

Sec. 11. Section 203(b) of the Federal Credit Union Act (12 U.S.C. 1783(b)) is amended—

(1) by inserting "deposits and" before "premium charges"; and

(2) by adding at the end thereof the following: "The Board shall report annually to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs of the Senate and the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs of the House of Representatives with respect to the operating level of the fund. Such report shall also include the results of an independent audit of the fund."

Sec. 12. Section 206(d)(1) of the Federal Credit Union Act (12 U.S.C. 1786(d)(1)) is amended—

(1) by inserting "(1)" after "subsection (a)";

(2) by inserting "maintain its deposit with and" before "pay premiums to the Board"; and

(3) by adding at the end thereof the following sentence: "Notwithstanding the above, when an insured credit union's insured status is terminated and the credit union subsequently obtains comparable insurance coverage from another source, insurance of its accounts by the fund may cease immediately upon the effective date of such comparable coverage by mutual consent of the credit union and the Board."

Sec. 13. Title III of the Federal Credit Union Act (12 U.S.C. 1795 et seq.) is amended—

(1) in section 303 by inserting ", an instrumentality of the United States," after "Central Liquidity Facility" in the second sentence; and

(2) by adding at the end thereof the following:

#### "TAX EXEMPTION"

"Sec. 311. (a) The Central Liquidity Facility, its franchise, activities, capital reserves, surplus, and income shall be exempt from all Federal, State, and local taxation now or hereafter imposed, other than taxes on real property held by the Facility (to the same extent, according to its value, as other similar property held by other persons is taxed).

"(b) The notes, bonds, debentures, and other obligations issued on behalf of the central Liquidity Facility and the income therefrom shall be exempt from all Federal, State, and local taxation now or hereafter imposed: *Provided, That—*

"(1) interest upon such obligations, and gain from the sale or other disposition of such obligations shall not have any Federal

income tax or other Federal tax exemptions, as such, and loss from the sale or other disposition of such obligations shall not have any special treatment, as such, under the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, or laws amendatory or supplementary thereto, except as specifically provided therein; and

"(2) any such obligations shall not be exempt from Federal, State, or local gift, estate, inheritance, legacy succession, or other wealth transfer taxes.

"(c) For purposes of this section—

"(1) the term 'State' includes the District of Columbia; and

"(2) taxes imposed by counties or municipalities, or any territory, dependency, or possession of the United States shall be treated as local taxes."

(b) The amendments made by this section shall take effect on October 1, 1979.

#### ELIMINATION OF PAYROLL DEDUCTION FEES ON FINANCIAL ORGANIZATIONS; ADMINISTRATION OF DISBURSING FUNCTIONS

Sec. 14. (a) Section 3332(b) of title 31, United States Code, is amended by inserting "without charge" after "shall be sent".

(b) Section 3332 of title 31, United States Code, is amended by striking out subsection (c) and redesignating subsections (d), (e) (f), and (g) as subsections (c), (d), (e), and (f), respectively.

Sec. . (a) It shall not be in order to consider any measure making appropriations in the Senate or House of Representatives, if the enactment of such bill or resolution, as recommended by the respective committee on appropriations, would cause the aggregate total budget authority for function 050, National Defense, to exceed \$299,000,000,000 in fiscal year 1985, \$333,700,000,000 in fiscal year 1986, or \$372,000,000,000 in fiscal year 1987.

(b) It shall not be in order to consider any measure making appropriations in the Senate or House of Representatives, if the enactment of such bill or resolution, as recommended by the respective committee on appropriations, would cause the aggregate total budget authority for non-defense discretionary activities to exceed \$137,800,000,000 in fiscal year 1985, \$144,200,000,000 in fiscal year 1986, or \$151,400,000,000 in fiscal year 1987.

(c) For the purposes of this section, budget authority shall be determined on the basis applicable for fiscal year 1984.

(d) The provisions of subsection (a) or (b) of this section may be waived or suspended in the Senate by a majority vote of the Members voting, a quorum being present, or by unanimous consent of the Senate.

(e) It is the sense of Congress that the unprecedented magnitude and persistence of current and projected Federal budget deficits must be addressed in a comprehensive strategy to moderate increases in defense spending while continuing the effective constraints on non-defense discretionary programs. To assure the success of such an initiative, the foregoing procedural restraints, in addition to the total aggregate spending limitations pursuant to the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, as amended, are necessary on budget authority both for defense and for non-defense discretionary programs for fiscal years 1985, 1986, and 1987.

Mr. BAKER. In a moment, Mr. President, I will yield the floor. It is my understanding that the distinguished chairman of the Budget Committee, Senator DOMENICI, will seek recognition, and that during his re-

marks will explain the contents of this amendment. But first, Mr. President, may I say that the amendment that I have just sent to the desk completes what some have referred to as the "Rose Garden agreement." I have referred to this amendment as phase two of the Senate deficit reduction effort.

As many of us painfully recall, the Senate completed phase one on April 13, at about 5 o'clock in the morning by a vote of 76 to 5. I refer to the Finance Committee amendment which was offered to the pending bill. The Senate now has before it the entirety of the agreement reached through literally weeks of tough, tough negotiations among our colleagues in the Senate, and with the President and his advisers. It represents great sacrifices and substantial concessions by all of the parties involved in those negotiations. For example, the distinguished chairman of the Appropriations Committee, Senator HATFIELD, has agreed to accept statutory caps on appropriations bills for the next 3 years which is a major agreement on behalf of Senator HATFIELD in order to achieve this agreement.

The Senator from Texas (Mr. TOWER) who is the able chairman of the Armed Services Committee, together with the President, the Secretary of Defense, and their staff have agreed to accept defense caps which are much lower than originally contemplated, and much lower I suspect than they feel is desirable under the circumstances. But they have agreed to them in the course of extensive negotiations trying to reach this package agreement.

The Senator from New Mexico (Mr. DOMENICI) who is the chairman of the Budget Committee, and who will carry much of the burden of debate on this amendment now pending, has agreed perhaps to higher defense numbers than he thought were prudent under all of the circumstances given our fiscal plight. But he has agreed, as have other parties to this agreement on many other matters.

In short, Mr. President, this is not a perfect arrangement. But I believe it is a good arrangement. After the weeks of negotiations and the compromises undertaken, I am convinced that this is the best arrangement that we can make. I urge my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to seriously consider this proposition in the context that, if we do not do this or something very much like it, there probably is not going to be anything passed by both Houses and presented to the President for his signature.

Perhaps the most common complaint I hear about the entire package is that it is not big enough, that \$140 or \$150 billion in deficit reduction will have no effect. Mr. President, I do not

agree with that. But more importantly, Mr. President, I am convinced that this is the best we can do.

To paraphrase a French philosopher, it is a crime to do nothing for fear that you can do too little.

Mr. President, I hope that the Senate will consider carefully the proposal that is now before it in the form of this amendment, that we will proceed deliberately to debate it, to amend it, if necessary, and to pass it as a further step in the completion of a package arrived at by difficult negotiations, and calculated to produce the best result obtainable under the circumstances.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, will the distinguished majority leader yield?

Mr. BAKER. Yes.

Mr. BYRD. The distinguished majority leader has spoken of negotiations which have occurred between, I take it, the Senate and the White House. Were any Members on this side of the aisle involved in those negotiations?

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, they were not, but I am sure the minority leader will recall that the President of the United States in his State of the Union message asked for a bipartisan approach to a downpayment on the budget deficit. And, indeed, there were meetings by Members on both sides of the aisle from the House and Senate, with representatives of the President, and I might say in all candor I think without much result. At that point—I accept responsibility for suggesting that—when those negotiations appeared to be unproductive, it was better to go forward with negotiations between representatives in the House and Senate and the administration than to do nothing at all. And the arrangement that I speak of is the product of that series of negotiations.

Let me say parenthetically that I have been in the Senate a while now, and in the leadership for almost 8 years, either as minority or majority leader. I have never seen a President of the United States as directly involved over such a period of time as this President was in these negotiations with Members of his own party. If my memory serves me, there were four separate meetings in the Cabinet room of the White House, and a total of 7½ or 8 hours of active participation with the President of the United States in these negotiations.

The only reason I say that is to tell my colleagues in the Senate—and my friend, the minority leader, in particular—that these were serious and difficult negotiations. And I did not mean to imply that they were negotiations on a bipartisan basis with the administration. That was tried, and did not succeed for whatever reason. But nonetheless, they were serious, extensive, difficult, and sometimes painful, but I believe successful negotiations

looking toward an effort to reduce the size of the Federal deficit.

Mr. BYRD. I thank the majority leader. I have no doubt that what he said is the exact truth regarding recent negotiations, which were apparently different from those that occurred early on and in which the Democrats did participate from this body and the other body. Even the proposals that were advanced on that occasion by my friends from the other side of the aisle, in this body, were said to be off limits, and not "on the table" for resolution. According to the news reports, the people who represented the White House, or at least one or more of them, indicated that they were merely "observers" when proposals were made in good faith by the distinguished Senator from New Mexico (Mr. DOMENICI) and the Senator from Kansas (Mr. DOLE) and others. So, I am pleased to hear that the President and the White House have lately really become serious, and have contributed to the negotiations to which the distinguished majority leader has referred.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I thank the Senator.

Mr. President, anticipating that the distinguished chairman of the Budget Committee will wish to seek recognition, I not only yield the floor, but I suggest that he take my place as well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished majority leader and the distinguished minority leader.

I am hopeful that I will be able this afternoon to explain to everyone the details of this proposal.

I think for the most part they are understood in terms of their expected result, since we have a 3-year enforceable cap on total defense budget authority and appropriations. Since that is separate and distinct from a 3-year cap on the rest of the appropriated accounts, starting with 1985 and running through 1986 and 1987, and since that is also enforceable by a point of order, this becomes more like a budget resolution in many respects, except for its enforceability and the enforceable nature of its caps. In a sense, while it is similar, it is genuinely different than anything we have done heretofore, to my knowledge. But the effect of the composite or total budget authority that we are attempting to get the Senate to agree to here today, which is close to a freeze on 1985 versus 1984 in terms of domestic appropriated accounts, and about a 5-percent growth in each of the 2 successive years, in the sense that it is cumulative budget authority from whence appropriators appropriate their particular and respective domestic appropriated bills, it is much like a budget resolution.

So in that respect, we have done a lot of work in the Budget Committee in adopting a resolution which is, for all intents and purposes, similar, in effect, to the final product here, the so-called Boat Act, as amended by the tax bill, as amended by the entitlement reconciliations, as supplemented by the entitlement bill which passed, a small one, as supplemented by these caps. It is very much like the budget resolution.

So in that respect, we would be available to answer questions with reference to the effect, with reference to the outyear economics, and with reference to the outyear deficits.

Having said that, consistent with previous floor actions, I ask unanimous consent that staff members from the majority and the minority, as we did heretofore, have floor privileges during the consideration of this amendment. I have cleared this matter with Senator CHILES with respect to the professional staff. I send that list of staff personnel to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, with reference to the need for calculators occasionally here on the floor, and this has been cleared and is consistent with our previous activities, I ask unanimous consent that the use of small electronic calculators be permitted to be used on the floor during the consideration of this matter.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I yield myself 15 minutes. I know there are no time agreements on any of this, but just so that I will be able to judge how much time I am using, I yield myself 15 minutes.

Mr. President, deficit-reduction action on H.R. 2163, the Federal Boat Safety Act of 1971, in all likelihood, will be the final component to a major deficit reduction downpayment this year. In fact, if the leadership amendment is agreed to, we will have also completed unfinished business of the last session, by incorporating provisions of the Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1983—S. 2062.

I want to say to the distinguished leader of the minority, when I say that I am in no way talking about it becoming a reconciliation bill at this point, I am merely talking about the contents being transferred to legislation and being part of this amendment and the rest of it was part of the finance package, neither of which are, per se, reconciliation, but normal amendments with all of the prerogatives of anyone and none of the inhibitions which would attach if and when it becomes a reconciliation bill.

Mr. BYRD. I thank the distinguished Senator for that information.



Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, this amendment implements those provisions of the Republican leadership plan announced by the President back on March 15, and either not enacted to date or not already included in the Senate Finance Committee amendment adopted before we went on the holiday recess. As important, this amendment also implements the budget and fiscal policies as embodied in the Senate Budget Committee's recently reported Senate Concurrent Resolution 106, the first concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 1985.

I mentioned that in my brief opening remarks, prior to my prepared remarks. We did adopt a budget resolution, as the distinguished Presiding Officer recalls, after lengthy debate and alternative plans. I merely want to acknowledge again that if this amendment is adopted and incorporated into the so-called Boat Act, as amended, it will be consistent with the budget resolution that was recently adopted by the Budget Committee.

No one should misunderstand what the essence of this amendment means. By adopting this amendment, along with the Finance Committee amendment already agreed on, we will have accomplished what few thought we would do this year. We will have taken the first major step, a responsible and realistic step, toward reducing the projected deficits. Combined with the two bills recently signed by the President—the Agricultural Programs Adjustment Act of 1984 and the Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1983—H.R. 4169—and the resulting reductions in net interest expenditures, the Senate will have acted in a responsible manner to reduce the Federal deficit by \$144 billion between now and fiscal year 1987.

I want to say to the Senate, there will be those who will choose to call the \$144 billion a different number because they will choose a different starting line. I can give you whichever you prefer, but basically, for consistency, we have used the same baseline as the House used in its budget resolution, in its tax bill, when they discussed how much they were reducing the deficit, when they voted in the Budget Committee on what the defense numbers would be, and concluded with their deficit reduction package for 3 years. They used the same baseline that we are talking about here which yields \$144 billion between now and 1987.

Some will argue we should do more, and I would not totally disagree. We should do more and we will. But let us not be fooled into waiting for a perfect package and fail to act on the good package we have before us.

I think we are all pleased by the recent excellent economic news, reflecting a robust recovery with low levels of inflation, increasing employ-

ment, and increasing personal consumption.

Incidentally, I see that my good friend, the distinguished Senator from Florida, has arrived on the floor. Not only am I pleased that he is here and that we will be involved for the next few days—hopefully not weeks—deciding which of the various proposals we adopt, but I am very pleased that he is here healthy, safe, and sound. I have not yet had a chance to get an indepth briefing of the situation he found himself in Central America, but, needless to say, I am pleased that everything went well and that the Senator is safe.

Mr. President, how much time have I remaining on my first 15 minutes?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Time is not under control, but the Senator has spoken for approximately 5½ minutes.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I say to my friend from Florida, I understand time is not under control, but for purposes of trying to adjust and to accommodate others, I yielded myself 15 minutes at the start.

Economic growth, measured by the rise in the real growth national product, topped 8.3 percent in the first quarter of the year. Industry is running at 80.9-percent capacity, the highest rate since August 1981. The number of individuals employed is also at an all time high—103.9 million. Yet this good news should not blind us to our responsibilities. We shall hear a lot about that, the fact that economic news is good and the economy is growing well, with whatsoever soft spots it has, but we certainly have to be concerned about the deficit. The Senator from New Mexico does not disagree. The economic recovery will not continue unaffected by burgeoning deficits. We must sustain the recovery by acting now on this package, as I see it.

It has been said on the floor so many times before that the most important economic issue confronting Congress today is the projected growth in Federal deficits, both in absolute terms and as a percentage of our total national income. Fortunately, we still have the time and opportunity to act aggressively on a "first installment" toward deficit reduction.

Do we have the courage and will power to confront this issue? I implore my fellow Senators not to let this opportunity escape us, for I fear that this will be the last opportunity the 98th Congress has to make meaningful reductions in the deficit. Of course, we shall soon have a chance to consider the reported first concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 1985.

As I indicated, that will follow this action and we shall either act consistently therewith or inconsistently, in either event. I am hopeful we shall take up the budget resolution shortly thereafter and accommodate it to what has transpired. I shall be more

than pleased in due course, if someone would like to know my reasoning as to why we approached in that way, I shall be happy to provide that.

But if this amendment fails, we will have effectively defeated the same policies embodied in that resolution. While no one was overjoyed or totally pleased with that resolution, obviously, it did make a significant dent and did make some substantive changes in the law that were meaningful. So, passing this amendment, as part of this total package, is critical. We owe no less to the people of this country who want deficits reduced.

At this time let me briefly summarize the provisions included in this amendment. The amendment is based on the general concept of shared responsibility. Reducing the current and projected deficit will require that everyone give a little and that most of our preconceived ideas of what the best policy is with reference to various aspects of our national commitment, either to our defense or to our social commitments, require that most of those particular policies give a little. As a result, we can readily see that this is broken into three parts: national defense, nondefense discretionary programs, and the entitlement programs. Federal taxpayers, corporate and individual, will also share in that responsibility, as already adopted by the Senate.

First, the amendment would set the aggregate level of appropriations for our national defense spending at \$299.0 billion in fiscal year 1985, \$333.7 billion in fiscal year 1986, and \$372.0 billion in fiscal year 1987. Compared to the President's request for national defense spending this year, these figures represent nearly a \$57.0 billion reduction in appropriations and we estimate a \$40.2 billion reduction in outlays over this 3-year period.

I remind my friends and colleagues in the Senate that we do not appropriate outlays as much and as often as Senators continue to ask what is the outlay effect. That is for the most part a genuine estimate, although we are getting better at it because we know the components. But basically, we appropriate budget authority.

While this is a major reduction from the President's request. It still assumes 5.4 percent real rate of growth in defense spending, and it holds defense spending to 7.2 percent of GNP by fiscal year 1987. That 5.4 percent average is figured off CBO, as I understand it, in terms of their deflator, if you like, which is what we have used throughout the budget in terms of the effect of inflation on the accounts of Government.

Second, the amendment would set the aggregate level of appropriations for nondefense discretionary spending in fiscal year 1985, at the present

fiscal year 1984 level, taking into account all those items that we are certain will be adopted in supplementary appropriations for the remainder of the year to get to the 1984 level.

This has been done in conjunction with and cooperation with the Appropriations Committee chairman and staff in terms of arriving at the numbers of the chairman and his staff with reference to the language included in this amendment.

After fiscal year 1985, this aggregate appropriation level would be adjusted for inflation as contained in the January CBO economic forecast, roughly 5 percent a year. In the aggregate, non-defense discretionary appropriated spending would be \$137.8 billion in fiscal year 1985, \$144.2 billion in fiscal year 1986, and \$151.4 billion in fiscal year 1987. I want it to be made very clear that this amendment does not take away from the Appropriations Committee its critical responsibility of determining how to allocate the aggregate funding level among the hundreds of accounts, as they see it, and programs, on the basis of need and priorities as they see it. The amendment simply sets a cap on the total funding for these programs over the next 3 years. This provision, it is estimated, will reduce nondefense discretionary spending by \$15.2 billion in outlays through fiscal year 1987.

Finally, the amendment completes the unfinished business of last year's Senate reconciliation bill—S. 2062—by encompassing those provisions of S. 2062 that have not already been included in H.R. 4169.

In some of those provisions, the Senate will recall, we clearly indicated when we adopted House Resolution 4169 we would have a later opportunity to make the changes. We have done that here. I think the distinguished Senator from Florida raised that point with reference to a couple of the items that were not exactly as we thought reconciliation demanded, so they are in this amendment.

The bill affecting civil service and military retiree COLA delays and other provisions—signed into law last week; and those spending provisions in S. 2062 not already adopted in the Finance Committee amendment to this bill, which was adopted before the recess. In total these remaining provisions of S. 2062 result in deficit reductions of \$2.6 billion.

This \$2.6 billion is made up of two major provisions.

First, the amendment achieves \$1.6 billion in additional pay raise savings, primarily by delaying payment of the military retiree COLA adjustment to each January 1, to be comparable with all other Federal and social security retirement payments. Currently, military retirees will receive payments on December 31.

The remaining \$1 billion outlay savings is achieved through increasing the capitalization of the National Credit Union insurance fund. This would bring the ratio of equity to insured shares of this fund up to a level comparable with other Federal insurance funds. The Senate Banking Committee has recently reported this legislation, and it is a part of this amendment.

Certainly if there are those who wish to inquire into it, we shall have the chairman and others who are part of that answer those details.

The amendment now before us leaves out a few sections that I was hopeful we could get accomplished. It does not address concerns about the Small Business Administration disaster loans enacted in H.R. 4169. My distinguished colleague, Senator WEICKER, outlined those concerns during Senate debate on H.R. 4169 on April 5. I simply say that unless the administration and Congress enforce the ceilings on SBA disaster lending—H.R. 4169 contains those caps and ceilings—the actual savings will not be achieved.

I must conclude by making it very clear that by supporting this amendment the Senate is doing more than the aggregate deficit reduction figures it suggests. Combined with the tax and spending measures already included, deficit reduction actions to date, and the resulting net interest savings, we will have a total balanced and responsible—and I would add realistic—deficit package and using the baseline that I described it will be at least \$144 billion. It is a start. I am firmly convinced, all things considered, it will send an important and significant message—and indeed our country will receive it as such and the financial markets will receive it as such—that the Senate will not be paralyzed into inaction as could be the case. We will avoid gridlock on a budget that I have feared for the last couple of years. That fear was growing this year, and I assumed there would indeed be a budget gridlock with no consolidated effort. Rather I anticipated pieces of legislation spread out over 7 or 8 months, probably lending themselves to a less significant package and less balance than is contained in this amendment.

Mr. President, have I used the 15 minutes that I yielded?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has spoken for 15 minutes.

Mr. DOMENICI. I thank the Chair. I yield the floor at this point.

Mr. CHILES addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida is recognized.

Mr. CHILES. Mr. President, I should like to first acknowledge the kind remarks of the distinguished chairman of the committee, the Senator from New Mexico, by telling him I am

happy to be back. I appreciate his concern and the concerns so many Members of this body and staffs raised about the welfare of Senator JOHNSTON and myself. We are happy to be back.

Mr. President, I also take this opportunity to congratulate the Senator from New Mexico for the dedicated work he continues to do in the budget process. I was crusading for the Budget Committee to have the chance to consider the budget package, and, all of the parts of this plan. Much of it had been worked out in meetings between the Republican Senators and some of the Republican House Members and the administration. We were finally successful in following the process. I think we held good hearings, and had a good markup session. It did not take too long, yet all members were able to express their views. At the conclusion, the majority, under the able direction of the chairman, was able to vote out their package. It was a narrow vote, but it was successful and that is the package that we now have on the floor. I, therefore, appreciate that we did have the opportunity to go to the Budget Committee, where I think our work should be done, and we have duly reported out something from the Budget Committee to the floor.

Mr. President, I want to take a few minutes to talk about a procedure that we are now embarking upon because I think it is one that does have some peril to it. We are talking about a course that changes the way we have done business in the past and perhaps is something that could set some precedents that members of the majority as well as members of the minority might live to regret. We are talking now about amending a minor revenue bill from the House, the so-called boat bill, with the package that has come out of the Budget Committee, part of which is in the nature of a reconciliation. It is expected that the Parliamentarian may rule, upon the adoption of that amendment, that the minor boat bill has taken on the characteristics of a reconciliation measure. Therefore, it would be under the Budget Act and would be entitled to all the strictures the act imposes. Historically, I think we have to realize that when we created the Budget Act we adopted, some restrictions to the act that completely changed the way the Senate ordinarily does its business. We changed the rules of debate. We changed the time requirements. We changed the procedures in regard to germaneness which are normally followed under Senate procedure.

The reason we did that, Mr. President, was because we felt it was going to be necessary. This budget process was so important that we wanted to make sure that someone could not un-



necessarily delay it. We wanted to be able to get up a budget resolution that the Senate could work its will upon, and that could then be combined with the work product from the House to govern and control our spending.

At the time we were devising those extraordinary powers I do not think anybody contemplated we would be working from a future year into a past year. I do not think anybody contemplated we were going to perhaps be waiving germaneness by a vote of 51, a bare majority, and I know no one at that time thought we would have substantive legislative changes made as a part of reconciliation. We now see that has happened. We have a bad precedent. But, Mr. President, to add to that bad precedent by going in this direction and attempting to waive germaneness with 51 votes is something on which I want to raise a warning flag. I hope, before we reach that point, both sides of the aisle will work out an accommodation that we will proceed along the lines of a unanimous-consent agreement rather than attempt to waive germaneness in this body. I think waiving germaneness would be a procedure we would all rue once it had been established because it would be available in the future then for whomever had a majority in this body. And history tells us that one party does not control this body forever. We on this side of the aisle had the feeling that we would control for a long period of time, but we had an awakening.

Mr. President, I raise that issue because as we go forward with this debate I hope the leadership will be conferring on both sides of the aisle. I hope there will be an attempt to work out an accommodation so that if there is going to be a package, that package will be something we go forward on with a unanimous-consent agreement from the body rather than establishing bad precedent.

Mr. DOMENICI. Will the Senator yield?

I take it the Senator is going to move to another subject. I want to comment on the one he just addressed.

Mr. CHILES. Yes; I yield.

Mr. DOMENICI. Indeed, I do not intend at all in this comment to be argumentative. Basically, I just would like, since the Senator was not here when I made my original opening remarks and certainly there was no reason for him to be, to comment on where we are and where we will be until we have adopted this amendment or the amendment amended.

As I understand the parliamentary situation and the leader's request, there is nothing about the pending amendment, I say to the Senator, as to time or germaneness requirements, nor are any waived in terms of it.

It is expected that all competing amendments, substitutes, appropria-

tion amendments, medicare amendments, and anything else will be dealt with.

I say to my good friend from Florida that they will not be dealt with in the framework of measuring their germaneness or their relevance under the Budget Act and reconciliation, but under the normal rules of the Senate.

There is some indication that at some later date, later in the process, there may be a desire on the part of the leadership to move to reconciliation, but I assure the Senator that we are fully aware of the points he has raised.

The Senator is correct: We had a budget markup the week before the recess. Clearly, it was the desire of the Senator from Florida and others that we do that before we take up this kind of amendment.

In addition, there was genuine concern on the tax bill about reconciliation. As the Senator knows, that was done in the normal process. That is why we were here until 5 in the morning—not that we have not been late on a reconciliation bill. That 20 hours frequently takes 2 weeks, as the Senator from Florida knows. There are no germaneness inhibitions, no time inhibitions, unless and until the Senate agrees to them, as to this amendment and the amending process.

Having said that, I want the Senate to know that converting a House bill to reconciliation is neither a new precedent nor a procedural maneuver to limit debate or qualify amendments. I am not suggesting that we are there now, but the Senator indicated that it might be some kind of precedent. It may be precedent-setting in some other respect, but the precedents for converting a House bill to reconciliation are at least twofold.

One was H.R. 5559, in the 94th Congress. That was when we were not in the majority. As the Senator indicated, this has a tendency to switch, at least in the last few years. That was in 1975, the first reconciliation bill ever. We converted H.R. 5559 to a reconciliation bill.

The second time was in 1982, in the 97th Congress, under the majority leadership of Senator BAKER. H.R. 4961 was the Miscellaneous Revenue Act, and it was converted to reconciliation. As the Senator from Florida knows, it then became known as TEFRA, the reconciliation tax measure.

So, while the Senator's arguments are correct with reference to not seeing reconciliation used more often than it should be and in situations that are less than desirable and that do change the rules of the Senate and make it easier to get things done with the 51-vote rule, I merely suggest that the aspect of converting a House bill has already been established by the

majority when it was Democratic and the majority when it was Republican.

Nonetheless, that is not before the Senate at this point, and clearly it is up to our leader and others to decide when it might be requested with reference to this particular amendment.

Mr. CHILES. I think the Senator is correct.

In my remarks, I pointed out that this time I was raising the warning flag, and that I hoped we would not set a precedent by waiving germaneness with 51 votes.

I also started my remarks by saying that I was pleased that we have gotten to the Budget Committee. I am pleased that we are now operating in this amending process under the normal Senate rules in which we do not have time constraints and do not have germaneness constraints.

I was simply raising the caveat that I hoped we would be very careful before we changed that procedure, and I hoped that the leadership on both sides would confer, and that even if it were necessary to go forward with the reconciliation package, we try to do that by a unanimous-consent agreement, rather than setting a precedent of going forward with a bare majority vote.

Mr. President, I have a few opening remarks about the amendment before the Senate. For the first time, in the amendment before us, we are talking about spending caps.

In order that everyone will understand, these would be binding restrictions placed upon the Appropriations Committee, against which, if they were breached, points of order would lie. It would become possible to strike down appropriations. That is new. We have not had binding caps before. We have not had these binding procedures.

The Budget Committee has had problems with other committees in the past. We have had some problems with reconciliation, where we have instructed committees that they had to make certain savings. We have had problems with the Appropriations Committee where we have set overall spending limits. Prior to this, the Appropriations Committee could adjust those spending limits as they desired.

I will say that the process has matured. In recent years, the Appropriations Committee has done a much better job in following the general directions—not of the Budget Committee, but the general direction of Congress. We had set certain funding totals for different functions of government, such as defense, such as public roads and highways, and such as public education. The Appropriations Committee has been following those. They were set not by the Budget Committee but by Congress, after a vote on the budget resolution.

However, this would go further and would say, for the first time: "You can't depart from these figures. You can't spend more than these figures allow."

So, given the fact that we have these caps, I think we want to examine them. I hope the Senate will examine them, and I hope the people will understand the areas we are talking about capping.

What are we dealing with here? First, we are dealing with all the non-defense discretionary programs of Government, and by that we are leaving out the so-called entitlements, those that are set by formulas, programs such as social security, and programs in which the people have a right to make a claim against the Government, based upon their age, their income, and other criteria. Those are the so-called entitlement programs. We are not dealing with those.

In dealing with our normal programs for which we appropriate, excluding defense, the plan before us now calls for a freeze on most programs to last year's spending figure, for the first year, and then a 5-percent growth for the next 2 years.

There are savings I think all of us know can be made in these discretionary programs. There are savings we should make. But when we make a freeze and we tell the Appropriations Committee that we have frozen those programs, then I think we get into an area in which we are going to have some problems. Are we going to freeze all the law enforcement programs? Are we going to freeze aid to dependent children?

That means, of course, that there could be no increase for inflation, no increase based upon the fact that there are changing numbers of employees. That would limit the ability to adjust these programs. We hope to present a plan, which we will discuss in more detail tomorrow, that will allow some flexibility in that regard.

That would mean cutting personnel in our VA hospitals, in our scientific research, in education for the disadvantaged, and in job training. In order for those people to be able to take a freeze where the vast majority of their payroll is in personnel, they would simply have to reduce their personnel and that would cut their programs.

In addition, though, Mr. President, what I wish to talk about is suddenly in this capping process there is a different standard applied to defense. And remember the theory of the cap is that we are afraid the Appropriations Committee will spend more money in these areas than we want them to spend and we need to put some kind of restrictions on the Appropriations Committee. We assume they will not follow the general direction of Congress in its resolution, although they have over the last several years. But

the notion expressed here is that we do not trust the Appropriations Committee and we do not think they will follow it, so we are going to make this a binding freeze.

What else is in here? There is a cap on defense. When I look on that cap on defense, Mr. President, I do not find that to be a moneysaver. That cap on defense is a little bit different than I find in these other areas. That so-called cap on defense adds more than we were spending last year, and we were spending last year at a 5-percent increase in real terms, 5 percent more than the inflation over the year before. But in addition to that 5 percent, we see additional money.

We are told in the opening remarks of the distinguished chairman that there are some savings in defense. I think we have to examine that more closely. Where do these savings come from? These savings come from the President's wish list for defense. That is what he would have liked for defense this year. It is continuation of what his wish list was last year. Congress did not give him that wish list last year. We held him to a 5-percent real growth, more than we had any other program growing, and defense is probably going to grow more this year than we have any other program growing. But the President's wish list was not 5 percent in addition to inflation; it was 12 or 13 percent.

So now, the chairman says we have cut defense because we are not going to give the President his 12 or 13 percent; we are only going to give him 7 percent, so he is not going to get as much as he wished for. That is supposed to be a cut in defense.

Now, I hear the talk that we did not spend the full 5 percent, that the Appropriations Committee that we are so afraid of and want to cap, saved more money last year than we told them that they had to save. They did not spend as much on defense as we have allowed them to spend. They saved some money.

But now we are saying that we are not going to start from where they left off last year. Oh, no. We are going to start back from where the President's wish list was. Yet we are not doing that for any other program, Mr. President, where we saved billions of dollars in the other discretionary programs. Just in education we saved \$2.5 billion. But we are not starting off from there. We are starting back to where we actually left them last year.

So we find in here that we have sauce for the goose but not sauce for the gander, depending upon the program. I think as we examine this amendment we find that the reason for the cap evaporates if we are saying the cap is intended to target savings. The cap actually puts defense at a higher figure, 2 percent higher than

we actually appropriated the year before.

So rather than locking in savings, it is almost an effort to direct that we are going to spend more.

Now, granted the Appropriations Committee, thank goodness, in its wisdom, could elect to spend less than that 7 percent if they so desired. I trust they would exercise that wisdom.

But it is hard to find the real reason for these binding caps which would permit points of order to be raised by any Members of the body to knock down appropriations and see that those caps will be binding in areas that cover all of the domestic areas of Government. The reason it is hard to see is because, when it comes to defense, we have actually added more than Congress spent last year, and more than I think it is ultimately going to spend this year.

Mr. President, we must finally determine how do we really compare plans? How do we really determine what the numbers are? How do we determine what our savings will be? That is difficult. It is difficult for us in Congress. It is certainly more difficult for the lay people outside who are trying to understand it.

In order to make some kind of order out of the chaos, to try to set a common yardstick or a common set of denominators, we established the Congressional Budget Office. They were to be the professional moderator, tempering the claims of Presidents with unbiased analysis. CBO was not to be a partisan. It was to be highly professional. We were going to allow them to set the standard of measurement. They were to be a kind of National Bureau of Standards. On budget matters CBO would determine the length of a yard. They would set up a neutral and objective system of weights and measures, so that their numbers could be the basis of comparison.

Now, I think on this side of the aisle we have continually tried to use those numbers. We have continued to try to say we will allow CBO to set those rules of the game and we all play from those rules.

But there is something about Presidents who do not want to follow those rules. And I will have to say Democratic Presidents in the past have sometimes tried to sidestep the rules of CBO, so it is not something unique to Republican Presidents. No President enjoys CBO rules. Presidents want to make up their own budget rules.

But Congress should use those rules, and observe those rules. We would be better off starting from there.

If we use those rules to examine the plan now before us, we see a plan that comes out entirely different than if you calculate from the President's wish list and what the President says,



Then we find the President's plan does not have the \$150 billion he claims. This is to be a 3-year plan. Do we not have to ask ourselves the question at the end of 3 years if we adopt this amendment how much better off will we be, how much money will we have saved?

The Congressional Budget Office says that we will save \$89 billion if we adopt this plan without any amendments. We will save \$89 billion over 3 years.

I hear this plan described as saving \$150 billion. That is difficult for me to understand. I know it is a heck of a lot more difficult for lay people to understand. But I want everyone to know that the National Bureau of Standards that we created, the Congressional Budget Office, the nonpolitical professional budget office, says \$89 billion. That is the same office that says defense will not grow at the 5-percent rate claimed by the White House, but rather at 7.2 percent. That is a 7.2-percent increase in defense over 3 years, in addition to inflation. And we are supposed to bind that into caps, Mr. President, because we are concerned about spending and we want to be able to lock this in so we are not going to have any more spending. The trouble is we are actually raising military spending in this particular plan.

At an appropriate time we will put a plan on the table that we think will make at least \$150 billion in savings, \$150 billion off of the National Bureau of Standards yardstick, real savings. It would actually reduce the deficit and give us a chance to sustain this recovery. But we will discuss this in greater detail at another time.

Why are these figures important? Well, I think they are important in the context of realizing that all of the witnesses that appeared before the Budget Committee—whether it was the Chairman of the Federal Reserve System, Mr. Volcker; whether it was the head of the Congressional Budget Office; or whether they were economists, almost all that have appeared before us, whether they be conservative or liberal economists—they all told us we had to seriously cut the \$200 billion deficit. They said we had to take enough of a bite out of it this year to keep the recovery going. They knew it was an election year, but they cautioned the job had to be done. And that is why we have spent as much time on the floor with the tax bill, why we have spent our time in the Budget Committee, and why we will debate in the next few days in this Senate Chamber. We have got to do something. We must make deficit reductions of at least \$150 billion, and show, at the end of 3 years, that the deficit is going down and not going up.

Well, if we want to apply that yardstick to the plan before us, we see that the deficits go from—the deficits

would go from \$180.7 billion in 1985 to \$203.5 billion in 1987.

Regardless of what standards you want to apply—and this same trend will be there regardless of whose numbers you use—those deficits are not going down; they are going up. That is the worst signal that we could send. That is not the signal that we want to send to Wall Street, to the financial brokers and to the people that are making decisions on interest rates. That would be the worst of all signals. And that probably is the signal that would say we will not have a chance to come back after the elections in 1985 and fix this before the economy goes off into another downspin.

That I think is going to be the key and the crux of our discussions today and tomorrow and until we adopt this plan. How can we unite the Senate in a meaningful deficit reduction plan? I have no pride of authorship in any plan and I hope no Democrats do. But I want to see that we produce some package that makes the deficit smaller in 1986 than it was in 1985 and smaller in 1987 than it was in 1986. That is the most important signal that we need to send.

I look forward to working together to make this reduction. I think that this will be a healthy debate for the country. We do have an opportunity to make a real reduction.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, was the Senator from Florida finished?

Mr. CHILES. I am happy to yield for a question or yield the floor.

Mr. DOMENICI. I just wanted to comment, so I do not need the Senator to yield. If the Senator is finished, I will seek recognition.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ABDNOR). The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, let me say that I hope in the days to come we can debate with more specificity and with more details as to what these various plans are going to do. But let me make sure that my colleagues understand a few of the realities.

First of all, my good friend from Florida, the distinguished ranking minority member of this committee, has a plan, a program, an approach. And so we will have it all in perspective as to how things are growing and how things are not growing. I will just give you a number. If Congress does what he asks in the military, it will go up between \$26 and \$30 billion next year. And if they do what he asks for the domestic appropriated accounts, they will go up between \$5 and \$6 billion between this year and next. So it is pretty obvious to me that whether it is this plan or the plan suggested by the distinguished Senator from Florida, the domestic appropriated accounts have gone up very small, if at all.

Likewise, I am concerned about the domestic appropriated accounts. I

have been concerned on a regular basis, but I would just point up a couple of differences. Since we are talking only about what the good Senator from Florida might offer as a Democrat plan, maybe not even officially theirs but at least the one he has been talking about, let me tell you what happens to the domestic appropriated accounts. If I read the plan right, it goes up a total of 6 percent over 3 years—2, 2, 2. And there are no mandatory caps.

If you look at ours, it goes up over 3 years 10 percent, not 6. And they are mandated. Zero, 5, and 5. So we have some ceilings and some caps in the outyears. I understand the need for flexibility in some of the accounts in the first year. Maybe that is the reason for the 2 percent.

But, so there is no misunderstanding, a reading of the amendment that we offer clearly indicates that as part of this appropriated freeze, the entitlement appropriated accounts are exempt. So we surely do not want to send a message out there that we are freezing food stamps against an entitlement law or that we are freezing SSI, both of which are means tested programs, or that we are freezing AFDC, or that we are freezing any of the programs like that even in the first year. They will get their substantive increase as prescribed by current law. And only those accounts that are truly appropriated and not appropriated entitlements will have the freeze and then the 5 and the 5.

Having said that, I think we will have ample opportunity to discuss that in more detail as to what it really means, but I would argue again that the full appropriated amount is left within the discretion of the appropriators and we use the high side of 1984 as the 1985 freeze. We assume all the supplemental appropriations would be adopted.

Clearly, the Senator makes a point. Those accounts that are heavy in personnel would be those that I would assume the appropriators would look at very carefully and be most willing to provide some increase. And those with very small personnel, maybe major grants with very little personnel, maybe they would cut those a half a point so that you could increase those with heavy personnel.

The total difference is somewhat between \$3 billion and \$4 billion in budget authority more than will be there for the appropriators under the amendment that is before you versus the amendment that the distinguished Senator from Florida might suggest in his approach as to being perhaps more fair.

Now, I want to repeat, there is no effort whatsoever to be misleading, to use a set of figures or baselines that we should not be using. I have clearly

stated to the Senate that we will give them both numbers and both numbers are here. We do not need some outside bureau to tell us that.

If you use the hybrid that the U.S. House has used marking off the President on defense and the remainder from CBO, you get \$144 billion. If you use CBO across the board and not defense at the President's level as used

by the U.S. House, you get the number the Senator has described, \$89 billion.

I do not know which is real. One is assuming steady as you go, using Congressional Budget Office estimates of last year. The other is using what the President said he wanted in defense, which is substantially less than he wanted last year, but nonetheless more than we had provided, and we marked off of it. The House did the

same, I repeat. We have both numbers that we will submit to the Senate as part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so everybody can take a look.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a table showing the two deficit reduction estimates appear in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SUMMARY OF CHANGES FROM BASELINE IN FIRST BUDGET RESOLUTION AS REPORTED BY THE SENATE BUDGET COMMITTEE

(In billions of dollars)

	Fiscal year—				Total fiscal years 1984-87
	1984	1985	1986	1987	
<b>Revenues:</b>					
Baseline	663.0	733.0	794.9	863.5	
Proposed increases	+2.4	+10.7	+16.1	+19.1	+48.3
Reported resolution	665.4	743.7	811.0	882.6	
<b>Outlays:</b>					
Baseline <sup>1</sup>	855.7	939.7	1,029.9	1,132.5	
National defense		-6.0	-16.0	-18.2	-40.2
Entitlements and other mandatory programs	-0.1	-4.6	-5.6	-9.2	-19.4
Nondefense discretionary programs	-0.1	-3.1	-5.6	-7.1	-15.9
Net interest	-0.1	-1.6	-5.3	-10.8	-17.8
Offsetting receipts		+	-1.0	-1.1	-2.1
Total outlay savings	-0.3	-15.3	-33.5	-46.4	-95.4
Reported resolution	855.3	924.4	996.6	1,086.1	
<b>Deficit:</b>					
Baseline <sup>1</sup>	192.7	206.7	235.0	269.0	
Proposed changes	-2.7	-25.9	-49.6	-65.5	-143.7
(Proposed changes assuming CBO baseline for defense)	(+0.6)	(-16.5)	(-31.5)	(-41.7)	(-89.1)
Reported resolution	189.9	180.7	185.6	203.5	

<sup>1</sup> Assumes CBO baseline for nondefense and President's budget request (not reestimated by CBO) for defense, plus interest adjustment to take account of the defense change. This baseline is consistent with the baseline used by the House Budget Committee in its markup of the First Budget Resolution which was subsequently adopted by the full House of Representatives.

\* Less than \$50,000,000.

Note.—Details may not add to totals due to rounding.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I would also make two other observations. When we speak of another plan of getting the deficits down rather than leaving them the same in the outyears, or permitting them to rise slightly—and let us say such as the plan proposed by the distinguished Senator from Florida—let everybody know that there really are only two slight differences. He provides 2-percent growth in budget authority in the domestic accounts for the first year and we freeze. He provides \$33 billion more in taxes than was voted in on the floor of the Senate in the tax-raising bill that was before us, and, from what I can tell, reduces defense in budget authority about \$9 billion in the first year over what we have provided.

It is very easy to see the differences. That is how you get what is described in the one case as a significant deficit-reduction plan, and the other one described as something that really will not have any impact. We can go into more detail tomorrow. Before I leave the floor today, I will do my best to insert additional information in the RECORD on the amendment, in the context of the total leadership plan, how it looks, and the assumptions that are used in terms of each of the various

functions of Government, how they might be affected taking into consideration at all times that clearly they are supposed to do that in the appropriation process, as they do with the budget resolution.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that supporting descriptive material and a table appear in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP PLAN REVENUES

Assumes \$48.3 billion in revenue increase in FY 1984-87 now pending on the Senate floor. The Deficit Reduction Act of 1984, an amendment now being debated, includes provisions related to deferral of certain tax reduction measures, tax-exempt leasing, certain corporate tax provisions, partnership provisions, depreciation and other accounting changes, excise tax, capital gains, changes to the earned income tax credit, and other miscellaneous revenue provisions.

#### DEFENSE SPENDING

National defense spending would be reduced by \$56.8 billion in budget authority and \$40.2 billion in outlays below the President's request, (or \$7.2 billion in outlays above the CBO baseline for four years). Assumes a real growth in national defense expenditures averaging 5.6 percent annually over the period FY 1985-87 using CBO as-

sumptions. Return defense spending to less than 7.2 percent of GNP, and 30.4 percent of estimated total federal expenditures in FY 1987.

#### NONDEFENSE SPENDING

Assumes \$37.4 billion in non-defense spending savings over the period FY 1984-87 through a number of provisions as follows:

Assume savings in the Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1983 (H.R. 4169) adopted by the Senate on April 5 and awaiting the President's signature.

Assume spending savings provisions in S. 2062, the Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1983, that were not included in the recently passed House bill (H.R. 4169). This includes veterans provisions, civilian pay raises, military retirement accounting procedures, and small business provisions.

Assume savings in the Agricultural Programs Adjustment Act of 1984 (H.R. 4072) recently passed by both Houses of the Congress and being signed by the President today (April 10).

Assume S. 2522, a bill recently reported by the Senate Banking Committee that would decrease outlays in FY 1985 by increasing the capitalization of the National Credit Union Insurance Fund.

Assume a one-year freeze on all non-defense discretionary programs. For FY 1985 aggregate budget authority for these programs would be set at their present FY 1984 levels. After FY 1985, this aggregate budget authority would be adjusted for inflation as contained in the CBO economic forecast.



FIRST BUDGET RESOLUTION FOR FISCAL YEAR 1985 AS  
REPORTED BY THE SENATE BUDGET COMMITTEE

[In billions of dollars]

		Fiscal year—			
		1984	1985	1986	1987
050: National defense	BA	265.3	299.0	333.7	372.0
	O	237.5	266.0	294.6	330.4
150: International affairs	BA	21.0	15.2	16.3	17.1
	O	12.0	13.0	12.2	12.5
250: General science, space, and technology	BA	8.5	8.5	8.6	8.9
	O	8.3	8.4	8.5	8.7
270: Energy	BA	3.0	4.1	4.0	4.0
	O	3.0	3.8	3.9	3.8
300: Natural resources and environment	BA	11.6	11.6	12.0	12.3
	O	12.3	11.7	11.8	11.8
350: Agriculture	BA	4.5	15.6	14.5	13.4
	O	10.4	15.8	14.4	13.2
370: Commerce and housing credit	BA	5.6	6.4	6.3	7.7
	O	4.0	1.6	2.2	3.4
400: Transportation	BA	29.3	28.8	30.0	31.1
	O	25.7	26.9	28.4	29.5
450: Community and regional development	BA	7.2	6.9	7.5	7.8
	O	7.7	8.2	8.0	8.1
500: Education, training, employment, and social services	BA	31.3	28.9	30.2	31.5
	O	28.1	29.0	29.3	30.4
550: Health	BA	31.7	32.4	36.2	39.0
	O	30.8	33.5	35.8	38.5
570: Medical insurance	BA	62.5	71.5	84.2	99.9
	O	59.9	67.1	74.1	83.1
600: Income security	BA	118.4	145.1	154.9	164.4
	O	97.1	113.2	119.0	124.3
650: Social security	BA	175.0	199.8	215.9	229.1
	O	179.4	190.3	202.7	217.1
700: Veterans benefits and services	BA	26.1	26.8	27.0	27.6
	O	25.8	26.2	26.7	27.3
750: Administration of justice	BA	5.9	6.1	6.2	6.3
	O	5.9	6.0	6.2	6.3
800: General government	BA	5.3	5.6	5.8	5.9
	O	5.5	5.4	5.6	5.8
850: General purpose fiscal assistance	BA	6.8	6.4	6.4	6.7
	O	6.8	6.4	6.4	6.7
900: Net interest	BA	109.6	124.9	141.4	160.4
	O	109.6	124.9	141.4	160.4
920: Allowances	BA	7	8	2.0	3.1
	O	7	8	2.1	3.3
950: Undistributed offsetting receipts	BA	-15.2	-33.8	-36.7	-38.5
	O	-15.2	-33.8	-36.7	-38.5
Total	BA	914.1	1,010.6	1,106.4	1,209.7
	O	855.3	924.4	996.6	1,086.1
Revenues		665.4	743.7	811.0	882.6
Deficit		189.9	180.7	185.6	203.5
Public debt		1,596.2	1,843.3	2,105.3	2,394.9

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, having said that, let me suggest there is a major departure from past precedent. The Senator from Florida has properly arrived at it with 3-year gaps, appropriated accounts of zero, 5 and 5 at a total of 10 percent growth. That is different. It is clear that if that was carried out by both bodies and signed by the President, it would have a significant impact. It would be much stronger than the outyear budget resolution recommendations. While it would not be reconciliation, it would be a substantive law of the land to be enforced by a point of order raised by any Senator if and when the cumulative totals prescribed are exceeded either in defense or in the domestic appropriated accounts.

There are many other plans, four or five others that will be offered I hope before we finish. I think it is easy to see the significance of all of them. They are all measured off of the three packages—the taxes, the defense, and the rest of the Government. We break that out into entitlements and nonen-

titlements as we look at some of the plans in that some do far more with entitlements, like social security and medicare and the like, than does this particular approach.

I do not think that anybody has a major reduction package that they can stand up and say dramatically reduces deficits in the future years of 1987 and 1988 unless they have in turn cut substantially defense, raised taxes substantially, or treated the entitlements such as social security and medicare pensions in some very dramatic way such as no increases for another year, or cuts. You just cannot get dramatic deficit reductions without doing that.

My last comment has to do with what deficits are—the real deficits. I hear it said that the hybrid number is yielding deficit reductions that are not real, and nonetheless, as I see it, the deficits that we show are the same whether we use the hybrid line or another, if we actually treat defense that way and the rest of Government the way we have indicated. But there is one thing that is different in addition to the different plans; and, it is what are the real economics that we want to apply. I want the Senate to know that we, in our numbers, have changed nothing from the CBO numbers in terms of economic assumptions, although I will with no reluctance tell the Senate that I think they are wrong. I think the deficits are lower.

I will give you one example. We are using growth in the first quarter of 5.4 percent, and we just received the final on it. It was 8.3. There are some others that are different, including unemployment, and they yield better deficit numbers; that is, less deficit numbers in the outyears. I do not know whose is real. I think as long as we understand what assumptions we are working under, each of us can assume that we are going to pick the one we prefer, and that we think is most right. But there is no fudging of the substantive numbers. Merely, you can pick your set of assumptions, and we will try to give you two at least—the ones we think are most relevant, and then CBO's as prescribed.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado.

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Mr. President, out in the real world where people do not know whether deficits are based on the actual baseline or a projected baseline, whether or not we are working with hybrids or something that is normal, where they have never heard of the CBO let alone the dispute between the CBO number and the President's numbers, where they are not sure whether or not these figures are relevant or irrelevant, the reality out in that part of life where most of us have been for the last week or 10 days is that people are scared to death. They know that these deficits threat-

en not only the recovery but, in a much more fundamental sense, the economic future of this country along with many of the things that we have taken for granted almost as the American way of life.

Interest rates are fully 2 points higher than they were this time last year. Unemployment, although it is lower than it has been, shows some signs of again becoming a problem. Many of us feel that inflation is far from dead but, in fact, is only asleep, and probably will come raging back at an early date, maybe as soon as later this year or possibly in 1985.

Mr. President, we have a very, very serious problem. The fact of the matter is that Congress has not dealt very responsibly with it any time since most of us can remember. I do not know how many Keynesians there are in the room, nor how many supply siders, nor how many hardnosed budget balancers, nor how many monetarists. I happen to consider myself in three of the four categories I have just mentioned. It does appear to me that the insights of supply-side economists are, in their main essence, correct; that, if you give people an incentive, they will produce something, and if you cut taxes, it is likely to stimulate investment in productive job-creating activities. That, in essence, I think is the point which the Senator from New Mexico was making when he pointed out that the recovery is very strong; in fact, stronger than was expected.

I also consider myself to be something of a monetarist in that it is clear to me that Milton Friedman and the others who point out the relationship between the growth of the money supply and inflation are on to something. Dr. Friedman, Howard Reichaver, and a lot of others, who are less renowned but probably equally on target, point out the money supply has been growing very, very rapidly, and that at an early date we may expect this will result in a large increase in the Consumer Price Index for the simple reason that increases in the money supply followed by a brief lag time has evidently always resulted in large increases in inflation.

What has all that to do with the deficit? In the opinion of many of us, there is a direct relationship between the size of the money supply increase and the deficit because the Federal Reserve is accommodating the deficit in establishing the money supply growth.

As for the point of view of hardnosed budget balancers, I guess those counsels have not been taken very seriously in this Chamber, or in the other body, for a good many years because obviously the situation has been growing worse rather steadily.

The interesting thing about all of these economic schools of thought—

that is Keynesians, supply siders, monetarists, and budget balancers—is that they all at least on occasion seem to imply that, if their pet theory were put into effect, suddenly everything would be predictably very good for the economy; that, if only according to one school of thought or another we were to adopt certain measures, the economy would stabilize and begin to grow, unemployment would go down, prices would level off, and we would have a growing, thriving, prospering United States.

In that respect most of the schools of economic theory agree, and with that I respectfully disagree. Even if we did absolutely everything right in this body, even if we adopted the economic policies which were best calculated to enhance the prosperity of the future of this country, we have to face the fact that what happens in the American economy is very, very heavily impacted by developments over which we have no control whatsoever. That is to say things that happen beyond our borders: wars, rumors of wars, threats of wars, changes in oil prices, the possible collapse of foreign countries or foreign banks, favorable or unfavorable balance of trade and payments. All of these have an economic impact on the future of this country and really are beyond the control of anything that the Congress may do.

Having said that, however, and having made it clear that I do not think we have totally under control to any finite degree the economic future of this country, it is hard for me to imagine how the Congress of the United States could have behaved with greater irresponsibility over the last 4 or 5 years than in fact we have behaved. I do not say this in any partisan sense because it appears to me that both parties bear a heavy degree of responsibility for the course we have followed, a course which has resulted in colossal expenditures, very rapid increases in the rate at which money is being spent, and deficits of a magnitude which were just undreamed of a very few years ago.

I am not going to quibble with the Senator from New Mexico, the Senator from Florida, or anybody else about how big the deficits are going to be in the future. But one thing we do know is the deficit this year is going to be around \$200 billion. Some people think it is going to be \$200 billion the next year and the year after that and every year in the future as far as the eye can see. Some, in fact, estimate that the gap between revenues and expenditures is growing wider, that the deficits will grow larger, and that by the end of the decade, if we do nothing, they will probably be bigger than they are today. Others, as the Senator from New Mexico, have pointed out that maybe the gap is beginning to narrow and at some point in the

future if we do nothing the deficit will get smaller. I am not sure that is true.

In any case, the assumption that we can go on as we are and let things play out over 4 or 5 years without suffering some kind of collapse, without inviting economic stagnation, without suffering a very large increase in inflation, the interest rate and unemployment, without, in fact, bringing our whole economy down around our ears, I think is absolutely tempting fate. To make such an assumption, to behave in this Chamber as if we can let these deficits occur, I think is playing Russian roulette or something worse with our national economy.

So, Mr. President, it is clear to me, and I think it is increasingly clear to a majority in this Chamber as it is to thoughtful men and women around the country, that the moment is here when we have to lay aside political considerations, when we have to be willing to take some chances in order to get spending and revenues balanced up.

I think for many of us it is even time when we have to be willing to say that there just are not any more sacred cows in this process. For someone like me who thinks it is important that we maintain a high level of national defense, it is time for us to make some cuts in the defense budget. I say that very reluctantly, because I am convinced that the peace of the world depends in large measure upon the defense preparedness of this country. But there is also some point when the threat to our economy grows so serious that it also becomes a national security threat, and I think we have reached that point and beyond. Therefore, I am ready to make some cuts in the defense spending pattern that I was never ready to make before.

There are many of us who think that these large deficits are blamed properly and totally on a runup in spending which is just without reason; that we are not undertaxed but, in fact, overspent. That is my belief. At the right time I will be prepared to speak to that at some length. I personally think we can balance the budget entirely by relying on spending restraints, by cutting back the rate of increase in most or all Government programs, and actually making reductions in the year-to-year spending pattern in some.

I do not think we need a tax increase, and yet I am convinced that the situation has grown so serious, that we are so close to the edge of economic disaster in this country, that I am not going to let tax policy be a sacred cow either. For that reason, I voted in committee and again on the floor with the majority to adopt a package of what were termed, I guess, loophole closings and revenue enhancements but which, in fact, by their proper name, are an increase in

taxes. I did not want to do that. For the same reason that I am ready to entertain cuts in defense, I am ready to entertain increases in the revenue base.

I hope all Senators will approach the question which is now before us with the same kind of willingness to sacrifice pet ideas and pet projects and pet theories that I have just described, because I really think the situation that is before us is very serious. This may be one of the very last clear chances we have to solve this problem.

We have an election coming up and I do not know how often we are going to come back to this issue between now and election. But I sense that in the next month or 6 weeks, in the debate on this bill, on the budget resolution and on the debt limit increase which will be coming presently, we are going to make all the decisions we are going to make that will have a chance to affect the national and international economy during this year.

So it is now or never, or at least now or maybe not until early 1985. Between now and 1985 a lot can happen and my guess is that if we in a timed or pusillanimous way we will be back here a year from now with the economy literally coming down around our ears.

Mr. President, the notion which is contained in the measure which is recommended to us today by the Budget Committee which comes to the floor by a narrow margin of just one vote in the Budget Committee, and I was part of the majority that voted to recommend this measure even though I did not think it was the best approach, is the so-called downpayment plan. The essence of that plan is to say we have a huge problem. We have \$600 or \$700 billion in deficits facing us in the eye over the next 3 years and, therefore, we ought to get a start on it, we ought to make a downpayment on the problem and then come back after the election when presumably we will all be much more courageous and statesmanlike. That is, I think, an appealing idea, at least at the superficial level. The idea of making a downpayment sounds prudent.

It has the ring of what reasonable men and women will do. It says in effect we are going to approach this problem gradually, we are not going to do anything drastic, we are not going to be rash, we are not going to be precipitous. We are going to make a downpayment, such as a downpayment on a house, a step by step, methodical process.

Alas, my friends, it is not so. The downpayment in this case is not the kind of downpayment that will make the problem easier to solve at a later date but is likely to make it worse, because the downpayment is not as large as the ground we are going to lose be-



tween now and the time we will ever get back to this matter, say a year from now.

Maybe this downpayment is the best we can get. If it is, then I am going to vote for it again as I did in committee. But I am certainly hoping that the Senator from Florida, the Senator from New Mexico, or somebody is going to present some suggestion which will do more than just make a downpayment on this problem.

To give you some idea of what we are talking about—and I do not intend to quibble over whether this is \$100 billion, \$88 billion, \$144 billion, depending upon whether you are using a relevant baseline, a CBO baseline, the President's baseline, or somebody else's baseline—whether we are talking about a \$100 billion or a \$150 billion deficit reduction is really not the point when you see the magnitude of the problem.

It should be measured against deficits of at least \$600 to \$700 billion over the next 3 years and total outlays in excess of \$3 trillion.

Mr. President, to agonize under such circumstances over a so-called downpayment of that size, as if this were the maximum, as if it were in the words of one Senator the best we are ever going to be able to do, really confides how weak we are, how indecisive we are. In my opinion, it does not portray strength of purpose but, in fact, weakness of political courage.

There is a second thing about this downpayment idea that troubles me. That is the fact that it is very heavily backloaded.

Much of the debate over budget and tax issues in this Chamber finally turn on how we think our policy will be received by the country, particularly by those elements of the country which are influential in setting interest rates and making economic decisions on which, in turn, depend the economic vitality of our communities and the opportunities for working men and women to have jobs.

Specifically, it is often raised as an issue in this Chamber that such-and-such a proposal will or will not be favorably received by Wall Street—meaning not just that geographic part of New York City, but investors, those who have money to commit, the idea being that if we can convince them that we are serious about the deficit-reduction idea, they will then be willing to commit loan and equity funds at rates of return which are lower, knowing that if the deficits are lower, interest rates are likely to decline. But if they fear that the deficit-reduction package is not real or not certain enough or not proportionate to the nature of the problem, the justifiable fear that is often expressed in this Chamber is that investors will turn to ever shorter-term instruments, that they will demand ever higher rates of

return, and that interest rates will be bid up; and as interest rates go up, the housing industry shuts down, the automobile industry shuts down, people are thrown out of work, the recovery stalls out and is finally smothered.

That is exactly what is happening right now, as I pointed out a moment ago. Interest rates are about 2 percentage points above what they were just 1 year ago. We are right at the point where the credibility of this package becomes crucial on Wall Street and on Main Street, with people who are making the investment and business decisions on which employment and prosperity depend.

What has that to do with the fact that the plan is heavily backloaded, as I described it? Very simple. Most of the savings in this downpayment plan are projected to occur not now, but after the election, next year and in the year after. My friends, people out in the country—economists, the heads of companies, the heads of large labor organizations, investors, security analysts—are not fools. They know that we are not really biting the bullet. They know that we are only making token reductions, even in the downpayment plan, in the current year; that most of the real savings are projected to occur in the future and that Congress may well, based on past history, not fulfill its undertakings in this measure; that the savings that we are projecting may not occur.

This brings me to the reason I wanted to arise at this moment, because what credibility there is in this plan—and I must say that I think it is limited, although I shall vote for it if it is the best we can get, after I have had a chance to vote for something else—rests upon the assumption that these caps on the appropriated accounts will, in fact, be binding; that they will be observed by Congress.

We all know that Congress can subsequently enact a new statute and thereby override the caps. We all recall that our dear friend and former colleague, Senator Byrd of Virginia, proposed and Congress adopted the so-called Byrd amendment, which required by law—it was a statute, not sense of the Senate, not a resolution, but a statutory enactment—that the budget would be balanced on and after such-and-such a date. But of course, every subsequent statutory enactment is to say, every appropriation bill—superseded the Byrd amendment.

How is the pending proposal different from that? In a very significant way. Even though I think it is flawed, it is significantly different from the old Byrd amendment.

The difference is that the spending caps make proposed appropriations bills and amendments subject to a point of order on this floor—not by functional subtotals, but in a very sig-

nificant way, by subtotals based on defense and nondefense.

In other words, if you bring a defense appropriation to the floor that violates the cap, somebody can stand up and say, "I make a point of order." To my friends on the floor and those who may be listening in their offices, I say here is the point which I wish them to consider: What happens when the Chair rules that a particular appropriation violates the cap? That is, what happens when the Chair sustains the point of order? The answer is, according to the bill in its present form, that a waiver is permitted upon a vote of a majority of the quorum. In other words, 26 Senators could waive this allegedly ironclad guarantee that the second and third year savings in this backloaded downpayment plan will occur.

I do not think this is a very good plan to begin with. It is not big enough; backloading does not make sense. We ought to do better, if we were dead serious about it, facing \$3 trillion in spending and \$50 to \$60 billion in deficit by anybody's estimate, if we are really serious, we ought to do better than \$100 or \$200 billion.

But if we are going to go ahead with this, surely we should make provision that the pending cap, on which this whole thing really hinges, will have a lot more solid foundation than something which can be waived by a vote of a majority of the quorum.

This came to my attention when I discussed the procedure under which such points of order would be entertained with the Parliamentarian of the Senate. I put this question to him: If a point of order is raised and sustained by the Chair, would it then be in order to appeal? Of course, he pointed out to me that it would be.

I then asked, would the point of order appeal be debatable? Here is another important distinction that I ask Senators to think about in preparation for the debate and amendment which is to follow: Under the Budget Act, the appeal on a point of order is only debatable for 1 hour. But if we enact a separate statutory provision as is proposed in this measure, it will be subject to unlimited debate. Therefore, if a point of order were sustained and appealed, a filibuster could ensue on the appeal and thereby, we could really be sure that, unless 60 Senators were prepared to vote to cut off a filibuster a point of order could be sustained, but it would be impractical.

Ah, but there is a loophole. The loophole is the waiver provision, which says that you can filibuster the appeal so there would never be an appeal. What there would be instead is a motion for a waiver, which could be passed on a simple majority vote.

Mr. President, I have not quite worked out how we ought to correct

this, but it is apparent to me that if it is serious, if this is a plan that we are serious about, we should be prepared to make these spending caps on appropriations accounts more meaningful than that. I suppose that at the right moment, I shall offer an amendment which will either delete the waiver provision or in some way put the lid on this thing so we shall really know whether we are voting on something that is likely to have its intended effect. I should like to consult with other Senators after they have had a chance to consider this matter as to the exact form of the amendment, but something along these lines seems well advised.

The Senator from New Mexico made the point that we are not freezing everything in this legislation. He is absolutely right. We are not freezing the entitlement programs which many, including the Senator from Colorado, think is where we have to begin to make some progress if we are really going to solve this budget dilemma we face. We are not doing that here.

We are not really freezing defense. In fact, we are allowing fairly substantial increases in defense; increases I must say I would be glad to support if we were not in such a horrible budget crunch right now, because I think, by and large, our defense has been underfunded for a number of years. But these increases in the type of budgetary crisis, in the kind of economic dilemma we are facing, seem to me to be fairly generous and, in fact, perhaps as part of a package, I would vote to scale back that rate of increase. I would not like to vote for that just as an isolated instance, but if I got something across the board that was an improvement, I might do so. But we are not doing that in this proposal.

The whole essence, the whole—well, the beef, if I may use that colloquial term, because somebody is going to ask presently, where is the beef?—the beef in this proposal is the cap on the appropriations accounts, and I must tell my colleagues that the cap is not screwed on there tight enough to be really meaningful. Before we bring this amendment to a vote, I believe it should be repaired, at least to the extent of assuring that, once enacted, the cap could not be waived by vote of a majority of the quorum.

Mr. President, I am not going to say more at this time. As this debate progresses, I may have some more thoughts to share with my colleagues, and I no doubt will have, unless someone else comes up with something better, an amendment to remedy this obvious and glaring weakness in the plan as I understand it to have been presented.

But before I yield the floor, I close by saying a word of appreciation to the chairman of the Budget Committee, my colleague from New Mexico

(Mr. DOMENICI). I have not spoken in glowingly complimentary terms about the proposal which he has brought to the floor. And yet I want to make it very clear that I not only do not intend any criticism of him but in fact I want to acknowledge him for what I believe him to be, and that is the most skillful legislator on this floor. Recently a national magazine rated him as the chairman most likely to get his legislation passed. That would have been impressive coming from any national publication but it was particularly interesting and instructive because as I understand it he was evaluated in this magazine not on the basis of editorial judgment of the writers or editors but as a result of a survey of Members of the U.S. Senate who said that the Senator from New Mexico had that kind of skill, and I agree with that.

I think getting that ball advanced as far as he has, even though I think it is not very far, but getting it this far down the field and getting us focused in the way he has and gaining the agreement of the President of the United States and others that we have got to have a deficit reduction package I think is a remarkable achievement. And even though I would like to see a bigger deficit reduction, that does not in any sense mitigate the fact that by getting us to this point he has made possible either some progress or a great deal of progress, depending upon how we handle it from this point forward.

I salute him, and I congratulate him for having really a wonderful success, and I know that it has come, because I have been at his side off and on during these last few months, as a result of great personal effort and study and scholarship and devotion on his part. I think that when the final chapter of this budgetary story is finally written, all Senators will feel as I do—we owe him a great debt of gratitude for his leadership on this matter.

Having said that, I still think we ought to go further, I think we ought to have more than what he has been able to give us so far, and I am going to predict that while he may feel obligated to support the rose garden budget or the leadership budget, as it has been called, if we are able to achieve greater savings, there will be little real complaint from our friend from New Mexico. And so I say let us get some bigger cuts and roll right over the top of them, and I bet he will be the first to support it when we go to battle.

Mr. DOMENICI addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico is recognized.

Mr. DOMENICI. I first would like to say, so I will not forget this, if there are any Senators who would like to be

heard this afternoon, to make some particular points with reference to the deficit or what we are proposing, I do not think we are going to be here very long and I hope, if they are listening, they would understand if they want to comment we are still here, but we may not be 15 or 20 minutes from now.

Before the distinguished Senator from Colorado leaves, let me say to him, having sat and listened to his qualified support, I am glad he is not a total opponent. I do not know what I would be able to do with this proposal if he were. It is no wonder that that same national periodical, based upon the judgment of his peers, indicated that he is one of the best orators in the Senate, I compliment him for that.

Mr. ARMSTRONG. That was a misprint.

Mr. DOMENICI. Again, I am very sorry that he so frequently has to orate with reference to our budget deficit and our plan. But that is good for us all. I thank the Senator for his kindness and the way he handled things today.

Let me make an observation with reference to the cap. The Senator makes a point. I would also suggest that you do things in steps around here. We are producing appropriation out year caps historic in nature. We never had anything like it before. The Senator from Colorado would like it even stronger, but I submit that when you can put enforceable caps in an out year appropriation bill where when they reach a certain level of cumulative budget authority can be out of order on its face and everyone will know about it, the institution will know about it, the people will know about it—you have a clearly defined operational rule for the first time in history requiring an affirmative vote on that issue, if you want to, to waive it—I submit is clearly a giant step in the direction of fiscal responsibility and a far cry from previous efforts to set limits on Federal Government expenditures. I believe that while we can work together to make it even stronger, I am not sure the Senate wants to go with an inordinate majority on a waiver, I am not sure they would want to go with eliminating the waiver provisions but clearly I am willing to work with the Senator from Colorado and others on it. And the Senate should know I did not design the language all by myself. There are a number of people involved in this as there are in most steps forward in this democratic process and especially in this institution. So we will look at that later on.

However, the Senate should know, and those who are interested in what this cap means, how enforceable is it, that no one can devise a process that is totally without the possibility that the Senate and/or the House in a



future act will change it. Let me even suggest what is almost a cardinal sin; that if we were to vote in a freeze on everything here today, before this year is out it could end up less than a freeze by significant amounts. Let me suggest that when we did our TEFRA and the other changes that people have now said where did the three for one go—it was supposed to be \$3 in cuts for \$1 in taxes. I am not sure that it came out three for one but I will tell you what I am sure of. I am sure that before the year was out, the same people who had agreed to that process, including the White House, had sent down to us requests for new money.

Mr. CHILES. When the Senator points around to people that agreed to that, please do not point to this side; we did not get included in that agreement.

Mr. DOMENICI. I will talk about this side, but indeed on the add ons that I am not mentioning many people on both sides voted for it. For instance, after you put the freeze on we added \$6 billion in budget authority for the farm program. I do not know very many people who did not vote for that. It was kind of overwhelming. Well, that was after you had already agreed on the year what it was all about and what you were going to do and what the appropriations were going to look like. That was \$5½ billion.

In addition, we passed in the lame duck session a whole new gasoline tax proposal and highway trust fund and we let them spend an extra billion dollars over what we had planned before. Lo and behold, after the deal was made, we settled the social security problem for our country, and in settling we had to spend between \$8 and \$10 billion—perhaps the Senator from Colorado can correct me—out of general fund money into the social security fund for the first year's total package in an effort to make it secure.

Now, I do not care to get involved in a debate as to whether we did or not. I am merely telling you what can happen. Now, likewise, there is one other. We had unemployment and we had a compensation law. It ran out of money, or was beginning to in certain States, and after we finished we passed it and I am not familiar with the dollars at this point, but it was substantial.

Now, I only tell you this because I believe those would have occurred had we agreed on a mandatory freeze. And along came a CCC requirement, an entitlement for farmers and ranchers, and it was going broke and they needed to get the agreed-upon payments, which we passed.

Nonetheless, I do accept the ideas of the Senator from Colorado, that perhaps we should look from time to time to very, very stringent, out-year binding mechanisms.

I repeat that I am not at all adverse to working with the Senator with reference to that.

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOMENICI. I yield.

Mr. ARMSTRONG. I very much appreciate the willingness of the Senator from New Mexico to consider something along those lines.

I want to make it clear that I am not trying to lock the Senate into anything it does not want to get locked into. My suggestion, and it is subject to refinement, was merely to give the proposed rule in this bill—this is, the rule that says no appropriation above the specified cap—the same status as any other rule of the Senate. Other rules of the Senate, with the exception of the Budget Act, cannot be waived by majority vote.

In other words, if the rules of the Senate are being violated and a point of order is raised and the Chair hands down a ruling sustaining the point of order, then somebody cannot stand up and say: "I move that we waive that rule and that it be done by majority vote." The only way we can do it, in that circumstance, is to appeal the ruling of the Chair, and that motion is fully debatable.

So, any time you get into that situation, you have inherently the right of Senators to debate at length and even to filibuster. Protecting the rules—and now we are talking about the integrity of the process—is something which is subject to filibuster and, in my opinion, should be, recognizing that, in the final analysis, 60 Senators can cut off the debate.

If we are serious about this, we should not give it less status than other rules of the Senate.

Mr. DOMENICI. I repeat that we will work on it with other interested Senators. I merely suggest that you break ground with new and difficult areas a step at a time. This is a giant step. The Senator has raised some very interesting and perhaps valid distinctions. I suggest, nonetheless, that this is different from anything else, since neither institution has done this before, in all its history. It is a pretty giant step to build in these caps.

Mr. President, I yield the floor, and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### ORDERS FOR WEDNESDAY

##### ORDER FOR RECESS

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the

Senate completes its business today, it stand in recess until 12 noon tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

##### ORDER FOR RECOGNITION OF CERTAIN SENATORS

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, following the time for the two leaders under the standing order tomorrow, I ask unanimous consent that there be special orders, not to exceed 15 minutes each, for the following Senators: Senator PROXMIRE, Senator KASSEBAUM, Senator GRASSLEY, Senator BAUCUS, and Senator BIDEN.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

##### ORDER FOR ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that following those special orders tomorrow, there be a period for the transaction of routine morning business, not to extend beyond 2 p.m., with statements therein limited to 5 minutes each.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, it is my understanding that following routine morning business on tomorrow, at 2 p.m. the Senate will resume consideration of H.R. 2163, the Federal Boat Safety Act, with amendment 3027 being the pending business. Is that correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I say to my good friend from West Virginia that I have missed him these last 8 days.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, the feeling is mutual. I have missed my good friend, the assistant Republican leader, as well.

#### THE EXECUTIVE CALENDAR

Mr. STEVENS. I ask the Senator if he is willing to consent to the Senate going into executive session to consider nominations on the calendar beginning with No. 514, through Calendar No. 556.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, this side of the aisle is ready to proceed with the nominations delineated by the distinguished assistant Republican leader, with the exception of Calendar Order No. 514.

Mr. STEVENS. I thank the distinguished Democratic leader.

#### EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session for the purpose of considering Calendar Nos. 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, and 556, and a request I

will make to remove the injunction of secrecy from seven treaties.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nominations be considered and confirmed en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations are considered en bloc and confirmed en bloc.

The nominations considered and confirmed en bloc are as follows:

#### THE JUDICIARY

Edward Leavy, of Oregon, to be U.S. District Judge for the District of Oregon.

William D. Browning, of Arizona, to be U.S. District Judge for the District of Arizona.

Joseph J. Longobardi, of Delaware, to be U.S. District Judge for the District of Delaware.

Terrence W. Boyle, of North Carolina, to be U.S. District Judge for the Eastern District of North Carolina.

#### DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Daniel Raul Lopez, of California to be a Commissioner of the U.S. Parole Commission for a term of six years.

#### COPYRIGHT ROYALTY TRIBUNAL

Mario F. Aguero, of New York, to be a Commissioner of the Copyright Royalty Tribunal for the unexpired term of seven years from September 27, 1977.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the nominations were confirmed.

Mr. BYRD. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of these nominations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### REMOVAL OF INJUNCTION OF SECRECY

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the injunction of secrecy be removed from seven treaties transmitted to the Senate by the President during the adjournment of the Senate:

Extradition Treaty with Thailand (Treaty Doc. No. 98-16) received on April 13, 1984;

Extradition Treaty with Costa Rica (Treaty Doc. No. 98-17) and an Extradition Treaty with Jamaica (Treaty Doc. No. 98-18) received on April 17, 1984;

Extradition Treaty with Ireland (Treaty Doc. No. 98-19); Extradition Treaty with Italy (Treaty Doc. No. 98-20) and a tax protocol with France (Treaty Doc. No. 98-21) received on April 18, 1984; and

A second tax protocol with Canada (Treaty Doc. No. 98-22) received on April 19, 1984.

I ask that these treaties be considered as having been read the first time; that they be referred, with accompanying papers, to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed; and that the President's letters of transmittal be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The messages of the President are as follows:

#### To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Treaty on Extradition between the United States of America and Thailand, signed at Washington on December 14, 1983.

I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to the Treaty.

The Treaty will facilitate United States efforts to prosecute narcotics conspiracies by expressly providing that conspiracies and attempts to commit extraditable offenses constitute extraditable offenses.

The Treaty follows generally the form and content of extradition treaties recently concluded by this Government.

Upon entry into force, it will terminate and supersede the existing Extradition Treaty between the United States and Thailand.

This Treaty will make a significant contribution to international cooperation in law enforcement. I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Treaty and give its advice and consent to ratification.

RONALD REAGAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE, April 13, 1984.

#### To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Treaty on Extradition between the United States of America and Costa Rica, signed at San Jose on December 4, 1982, together with a related exchange of notes signed on December 16, 1982.

I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the Report of the Department of State with respect to the Treaty.

The Treaty will facilitate United States efforts to prosecute narcotics conspiracies by expressly providing that conspiracies and attempts to commit extraditable offenses constitute extraditable offenses. The Treaty also provides a legal basis for temporarily surrendering prisoners to stand trial for crimes which occurred in the requesting State.

The Treaty follows generally the form and content of extradition treaties recently concluded by this Government. Upon entry into force, it will

terminate and supersede the existing extradition treaty between the United States and Costa Rica.

This Treaty will make a significant contribution to international cooperation in law enforcement. I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Treaty and give its advice and consent to ratification.

RONALD REAGAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE, April 17, 1984.

#### To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Treaty on Extradition between the United States of America and Jamaica, signed at Kingston on June 14, 1983.

I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to the Treaty.

The Treaty is the first modern United States extradition treaty within the Caribbean region. The Treaty will facilitate United States efforts to prosecute narcotics conspiracies by expressly providing that conspiracies and attempts to commit extraditable offenses constitute extraditable offenses.

The Treaty follows generally the form and content of extradition treaties recently concluded by this Government. Upon entry into force of this Treaty, the Extradition Treaty between the United States and the United Kingdom signed on December 22, 1931, shall cease to have effect between the United States and Jamaica.

This Treaty will make a significant contribution to international cooperation in law enforcement. I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Treaty and give its advice and consent to ratification.

RONALD REAGAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE, April 17, 1984.

#### To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Treaty on Extradition between the United States of America and Ireland, signed at Washington on July 13, 1983.

I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the Report of the Department of State with respect to the Treaty.

The Treaty is the first law enforcement treaty directly negotiated between the United States and Ireland. It fills a gap resulting from a 1965 change in Irish law which precludes the implementation of any applicable extradition agreements between the United States and Great Britain. The Treaty follows generally the form and content of extradition treaties recently concluded by this Government.



This Treaty will make a significant contribution to international cooperation in law enforcement. I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Treaty and give its advice and consent to ratification.

RONALD REAGAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE, April 18, 1984.

*To the Senate of the United States:*

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Treaty on Extradition between the United States of America and Italy, signed at Rome on October 13, 1983.

I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the Report of the Department of State with respect to the Treaty.

The Treaty will facilitate United States efforts to prosecute narcotics conspiracies by expressly providing that conspiracies and attempts to commit extraditable offenses constitute extraditable offenses. The Treaty also provides a legal basis for temporarily surrendering prisoners to stand trial for crimes which occurred in the requesting State.

The Treaty follows generally the form and content of extradition treaties recently concluded by this Government. Upon entry into force, it will terminate and supersede the existing extradition treaty between the United States and Italy.

This Treaty will make a significant contribution to international cooperation in law enforcement. I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Treaty and give its advice and consent to ratification.

RONALD REAGAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE, April 18, 1984.

*To the Senate of the United States:*

I transmit herewith for Senate advice and consent to ratification a Protocol to the Convention between the United States of America and the French Republic with respect to taxes on income and property of July 28, 1967, as amended by the Protocols of October 12, 1970, and November 24, 1978. The present Protocol was signed at Paris on January 17, 1984. I also transmit the report of the Department of State on the Protocol.

The principal reason for further amending the Convention is the recently enacted French wealth tax which could adversely affect Americans living in France. The Protocol exempts from this tax foreign assets owned by United States citizens temporarily resident in France. The Protocol also provides an exemption from tax at source on interest, and it includes rules for limiting the benefits of the Convention to residents of the United States or France.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Protocol and give advice and consent to its ratification.

RONALD REAGAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE, April 18, 1984.

*To the Senate of the United States:*

I transmit herewith, for Senate advice and consent to ratification, a Second Protocol, signed at Washington on March 28, 1984, Amending the Convention between the United States and Canada with Respect to Taxes on Income and on Capital, signed at Washington on September 26, 1980, as amended by a Protocol signed at Ottawa on June 14, 1983. I also transmit the report of the Department of State with respect to the second protocol.

The Social Security Amendments of 1983 were enacted since the negotiation of the convention and first protocol. They provide in part that social security benefits paid to nonresident aliens henceforth will be subject to an effective 15 percent withholding tax. The Canadian Government has requested that the pending convention be amended to exempt Canadian residents from such withholding.

The second protocol would amend Article XVIII (Pensions and Annuities) of the convention, so as to provide that social security benefits paid by one party to residents of the other "shall be taxable only in that other State." However, United States citizens resident in Canada will continue to be taxable to the extent provided under United States law.

It is most desirable that this second protocol, together with the convention and first protocol, be considered by the Senate as soon as possible and that the Senate give advice and consent to ratification of the convention and two amending protocols.

RONALD REAGAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE, April 18, 1984.

#### LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate return to the consideration of legislative business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I ask my good friend from West Virginia if he knows of anything further to come before the Senate.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, my good friend, the Republican acting leader, is thoughtful and considerate. I have nothing in mind.

I thank the Senator, and I have nothing further.

Mr. STEVENS. I thank the Senator very much.

#### RECESS

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in recess until 12 noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate, at 4 p.m., recessed until Wednesday, April 25, 1984, at 12 noon.

#### NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Secretary of the Senate April 13, 1984, under authority of the order of the Senate of April 13, 1984:

##### THE JUDICIARY

Joel Gerber, of Virginia, to be a judge of the United States Tax Court for a term expiring fifteen years after he takes office, vice C. Moxley Featherston, retired.

Executive nominations received by the Secretary of the Senate April 18, 1984, under authority of the order of the Senate of April 13, 1984:

##### THE JUDICIARY

Lloyd D. George, of Nevada, to be U.S. district judge for the district of Nevada vice Roger D. Foley, retired.

##### IN THE AIR FORCE

The following named officer under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 601, to be reassigned to a position of importance and responsibility designated by the President under title 10, United States Code, section 601:

##### To be Lieutenant general

Lt. Gen. James A. Abrahamson, XXX-X...  
X., U.S. Air Force.

##### IN THE ARMY

The following named officer to be placed on the retired list in the grade indicated under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 1370:

##### To be Lieutenant general

Lt. Gen. William I. Rolya, XXX-XX-XXXX,  
age 56, U.S. Army.

Executive nominations received by the Secretary of the Senate April 19, 1984, under authority of the order of the Senate of April 13, 1984:

##### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

S. L. Abbott, of Texas, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Kingdom of Lesotho.

##### DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

James Paul Wade, Jr., of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense (new position—Public Law 98-94, of September 24, 1983).

Everett Pyatt, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Navy, vice George A. Sawyer, resigned.

##### UNIFORMED SERVICES UNIVERSITY OF THE HEALTH SCIENCES

Ann S. Peterson, of Illinois, to be a member of the Board of Regents of the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences for a term expiring June 20, 1989, vice Robert Higgins Ebert, term expired.

##### DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

Virgil E. Brown, of Ohio, to be a member of the Advisory Board of the Saint Law-

rence Seaway Development Corp., vice Foster S. Brown, resigned.

John R. Wall, of Ohio, to be a member of the Advisory Board of the Saint Lawrence Seaway Development Corp., vice Joseph N. Thomas.

#### DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY

William W. Hoover, of Maryland, to be an Assistant Secretary of Energy (Defense Programs), vice Herman E. Roser, resigned.

#### NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL ON WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

The following-named persons to be members of the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs for terms expiring May 8, 1986:

Naomi Brummond, of Nebraska, vice Mary Jo Arndt, term expired.

Peter Douglas Keisler, of Connecticut, vice Virginia Gillham Tinsley, term expired.

#### EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Jacqueline E. Schafer, of New York to be a member of the Council on Environmental Quality, vice Nancy A. Maloley, resigned.

Bernadine Healy Bulkley, of Maryland, to be an Associate Director of the Office of Science and Technology Policy (new position).

#### FEDERAL EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT AGENCY

Clyde A. Bragdon, Jr., of California, to be Administrator of the U.S. Fire Administration, vice Bobby Jack Thompson, resigned.

#### NATIONAL FOUNDATION ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES

The following-named persons to be members of the National Council on the Humanities for terms expiring January 26, 1990:

William Barclay Allen, of California, vice Charles V. Hamilton, term expired.

Mary Josephine Conrad Cresimore, of North Carolina, vice Louis J. Hector, term expired.

Leon Richard Kass, of Illinois, vice M. Carl Holman, term expired.

Kathleen S. Kilpatrick, of Connecticut, vice Harriet Morse Zimmerman, term expired.

James V. Schall, of California, vice Leon Stein, term expired.

Helen Marie Taylor, of Virginia, vice Mary Beth Norton, term expired.

#### U.S. INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AGENCY

Victor M. Rivera, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development, vice Otto J. Reich, resigned.

#### IN THE AIR FORCE

The following person for appointment as Reserve of the Air Force, in the grade indicated under the provisions of sections 593 and 8371, title 10, United States Code.

#### LINE OF THE AIR FORCE

##### To be colonel

Rice, David F., xxx-xx-xxxx

##### IN THE ARMY

The following-named officers for permanent promotion in the U.S. Army in accordance with the appropriate provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 624:

#### ARMY NURSE CORPS

##### To be lieutenant colonel

Burns, Pamela K., xxx-xx-xxxx

#### MEDICAL SERVICE CORPS

##### To be lieutenant colonel

Whitaker, Stephen D., xxx-xx-xxxx

#### ARMY

##### To be major

Guthmiller, Donald L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Martin, Lavelle, xxx-xx-xxxx  
Nance, Richard A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Ward, Edward P., xxx-xx-xxxx

#### CHAPLAIN

##### To be major

Brown, Nicholas A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Walter, Larry A., xxx-xx-xxxx

#### ARMY NURSE CORPS

##### To be major

Picariello, Jeanne M., xxx-xx-xxxx

#### DENTAL CORPS

##### To be major

Smith, Terrence M., xxx-xx-xxxx

#### IN THE ARMY

The following-named cadets, graduating class of 1984, U.S. Military Academy, for appointment in the Regular Army of the United States in the grade of second lieutenant, under the provisions of section 531 and 4353, title 10, United States Code:

Aarthun, Troy A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Abeyta, Anycia A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Accardi, Joseph M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Aceves, Patricia, xxx-xx-xxxx  
Adams, Glen P., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Adams, John A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Adams, Matthew H., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Ahrens, Stephen F., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Alzer, Ronald J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Alberga, David A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Alibrandi, Philip L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Allem, Bryan K., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Allen, Andrea L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Allgrove, Donald C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Alonso, Vincent E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Alsberry, Dennis M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Alto, Brian L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Alvarez, Joseph H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Ammon, Joseph C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Amundsen, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Anderson, Derric H., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Andrews, John C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Angresano, Paul M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Antoniou, Christos T., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Arbaugh, William A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Ariall, Thomas W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Armstrong, Bryan J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Arnberg, Andrew B., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Arterburn, David R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Asimos, Michael W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Aten, Herbert A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Auge, David D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Auman, David R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Auyeung, Peter Y., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Ayres, Thomas E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Baca, J. Steven, xxx-xx-xxxx  
Baird, James S., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Baker, Keith A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Baldi, James L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Baldwin, Cleophas, xxx-xx-xxxx  
Balland, David J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Bandy, Vincent A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Baragona, David W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Barker, Clayton L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Barnett, Gil W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Barrette, Dana P., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Bastin, Gary P., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Bates, Nancy E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Bayer, Craig S., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Bazemore, Jeffrey T., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Beach, Daniel A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Beach, Dwight E., III, xxx-xx-xxxx  
Beach, Steven R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Beals, Paul M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Beaty, Tommy D., III, xxx-xx-xxxx  
Beben, Christopher J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Becker, Bradley B., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Beckwith, Frank R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Bednar, Raymond P., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Belcher, Eric R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Bellisle, Monica M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Belsky, George P., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Bentley, Douglas L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Bentley, William A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Berenyi, Gary F., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Bergner, Jeffrey J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Bermudez, James M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Bertocci, Jeffrey D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Besch, Eric C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Bibbo, Anthony, xxx-xx-xxxx  
Biever, Jacob D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Billman, Craig D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Birman, Diane K., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Bishop, Christy M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Black, David L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Blas, Benny A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Blyth, Matthew E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Bobinski, Robert S., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Bogan, James M., III, xxx-xx-xxxx  
Bohn, Craig E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Boling, Anthony J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Bolyard, Kevin G., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Bond, Claud R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Boone, Donald L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Borsodi, Michael C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Bouckley, Andy F., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Boyd, Daniel O., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Boylan, Peter J., III, xxx-xx-xxxx  
Brach, Randy J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Bradley, Allen S., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Bradley, Sherry J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Brazier, Jonathan S., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Breuhan, David R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Brimmer, Douglas L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Brockson, Brian M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Brooks, Alfred L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Broski, Michael F., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Brower, Christopher M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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Brown, James G., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Brown, Jay P., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Brown, Kenneth, xxx-xx-xxxx  
Browning, Charles W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Bruno, Bruce E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Buchs, Todd A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Buckheit, John, xxx-xx-xxxx  
Buckingham, Patricia A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Buehler, Alexander T., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Burke, Thomas B., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Burner, Larry C., II, xxx-xx-xxxx  
Burwell, Mark W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Butler, Aaron G., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Buzzell, John M., III, xxx-xx-xxxx  
Bynum, Markus S., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Cabacungan, Guillermo R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Cabot, Lawrence P., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Cadena, George E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Cahill, Dennis J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Cain, Judith B., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Calbos, Philip T., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Callahan, Sean M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Callin, Jeffrey M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Calverase, Paul J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Campbell, Kelly N., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Cannella, David A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Cantwell, Gregory L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Caracello, Dominic J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Caraccio, Daniel J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Carl, Robert, xxx-xx-xxxx  
Carlin, Christopher, xxx-xx-xxxx  
Carney, Robert E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Carpenter, Lonny J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Carrington, John C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Carroll, Barry G., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Carroll, Larry L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Carvelli, Michael R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Cattley, William H., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Celestan, Gregory J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Celeste, Ronald C., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Cepak, Charlie J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Ceremuga, George J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
Cerniglia, Marc E., xxx-xx-xxxx



Cersovsky, Donald D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Chandler, Stacey C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Chang, Dean I., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Chapman, Edwin R., II., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Chapman, Thomas C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Char, Chester A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Childers, William A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Chrisman, Louise A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Christensen, Jonathon L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Christensen, Matthew M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Christmas, Joey L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Chu, Joseph, Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Chung, Tony C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Church, David L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Clark, Frank S., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Clark, John H., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Clark, Michael J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Clark, Patrick J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Clarke, Richard D., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Cleaves, Jon S., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Clements, Irina C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Clifford, Thomas E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Cluff, Leila, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Cobb, Alma J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Coddington, Nicholas E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Coester, Daniel W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Conklin, Willard D., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Cook, David A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Cook, Edwin C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Cook, Gregory W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Cook, Mark C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Cooper, Troy A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Cornett, Charles K., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Cosby, William N., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Cotter, Craig S., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Cottone, Daniel J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Coyle, Bernard M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Coyle, William F., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Cozart, Curtis W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Cozza, Paul J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Craig, Robert J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Crane, Mark V., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Criss, Michael R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Cronin, Joshua J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Crook, James A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Crosby, Jerry L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Cuerington, Andre M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Cullen, Kenneth P., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Curry, Peter J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Cyr, Michael P., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Danielsen, David L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Darrow, Keith R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Dasalla, Randy R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Dascher, Dag P., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Davidson, Troy E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Davie, Gerald S., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Davison, Bruce H., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Deal, Charles M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Deantona, Joseph P., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 DeBenedictis, Susan D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Delawter, Diane L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Delphin, Julie A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Deluca, Ralph C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Demaio, John A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Demarco, Joseph F., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Demario, William R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Demont, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Dequattro, Robert C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Detwiler, Steven B., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Devens, Thomas E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Devney, Steven C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Dewitt, John D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Dick, Bradley C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Dickinson, Reuben D., IV, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Dickinson, Douglas L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Dobson, Robert A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Dodgson, Sean K., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Doerries, David L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Dolt, Christopher C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Donahue, Joseph M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Doner, Karen E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Donovan, Thomas E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Dougherty, John M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Dougherty, Paul D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Dow, Thurman E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Dowd, Dennis J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Dowd, John F., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Doyle, Peter T., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Drennan, Martha J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Driscoll, Stephen J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Dubois, Richard D., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Dudley, Raymond L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Duff, Michael, III, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Duffy, Thomas R., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Duguay, Robert P., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Dunaway, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Dunne, Maurice F., III, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Durant, Darrell D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Dyekman, Gregory J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Dyson, Kenneth W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Earl, Arthur J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Eckelbarger, David E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Eckersley, Alan D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Edelen, John F., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Edleson, Brenda A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Edwards, David J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Elghmy, Brian S., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Eisiminger, Thomas L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Enriquez, Oswald, xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Ewing, James A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Faddis, David J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Fallon, Willard G., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Fancher, Daniel M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Fine, Phillip M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Fisher, Colby D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Fleming, Deborah C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Flemmings, David C., II, xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Gaertner, Christopher W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Garcia, Anthony D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Garcia, Richard L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Gaston, Angela M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Greehey, William W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Green, Jerry R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Green, Tobin L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Greene, Bradley D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Grey, Alison E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Grey, Jeffrey D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Griffith, Allen L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Grunow, Carl D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Guiler, Gerard K., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Guinn, William H., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Haase, Thomas K., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Hamilton, Byron K., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Hamilton, Scott R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Hand, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Hanlon, Edward S., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Harden, Monroe B., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Haring, Ellen L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Harriman, Kelly A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Harrison, Gail L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Hartman, Arthur L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Haugen, John G., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Hauser, Michael D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Hawley, Jeffrey W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Hayes, David J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Heath, Stanley N., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Heaton, Wayne E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Hernandez, Michelle M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Heun, Paul K., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Hewitt, Richard A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Hickey, Suzanne C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Higuera, Janice, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Hill, David E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Hill, Dwayne T., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Hill, Edward J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Hillestad, John S., II, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Hinton, Robert C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Hluck, George S., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Hoadley, Jeffrey K., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Hogan, Daniel L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Hogan, David C., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Hogan, Melvin S., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Holbert, Conrad A., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Holden, Karla M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Holiday, Hershel L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Holmes, Eric T., xxx-xx-xxxx

Holtam, Susan G., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Hooper, James E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Horton, Richard N., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Hougnon, Teresa R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Hovey, Jeffrey L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Hsieh, Peter T., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Hubbard, Kimball M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Hutton, John E., III, xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Iram, Lawrence E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Irwin, Bruce H., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Jefferson, William H., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Jennings, Wesley J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Jezior, Thomas R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Johnson, Brent P., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Johnson, Paul H., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Joyce, Gregory D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Kahn, Michael A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Kammerer, Gregory L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Kelly, James J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Kendrick, James L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Kidnocker, Karle L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Kingston, Jeffrey M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Kirby, John K., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Klopsch, Norbert S., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Knight, Clifford T., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Knox, Tracy D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Koebberling, Kenneth E., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Kokoskie, Gregory A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Kolev, Hermann, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Koziatek, Kevin M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Kreipe, Stephen G., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Kuchinski, William D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Kulich, Thomas P., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Kuring, Steven R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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 Lacitignola, Frank, xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Laqueument, Richard A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Lagasse, David A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Laky, Peter G., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Lambert, Alexander L., II, xxx-xx-xxxx

Lambert, Garrett R., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Lambert, John D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Lambert, Roger W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Lambert, Wayne W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Landsberg, Karl D., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Larsen, Jon A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Lauer, Mark M., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Laughlin, Richard W., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Lavender, Darryl J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Lawrence, Terry G., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Lawrisuk, Andrew P., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Lawson, Lance A., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Lawton, Jean L., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Leardi, Vincent J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
 Lee, Bryant J., xxx-xx-xxxx  
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## IN THE NAVY

The following-named commanders of the

Reserve of the U.S. Navy for permanent promotion to the grade of captain in the line, in the competitive category as indicated, pursuant to the provisions of title 10, United States, Code, section 5912:

Abel, Edward Ronald  
 Ackermann, Peter Gross  
 Acosta, Gilbert  
 Adaschik, Anthony Joseph  
 Ahlback, James Francis, Jr.  
 Anathan, Robert Peter  
 Anderson, Ernest John, Jr.  
 Annin, Timothy Edwards  
 Arndt, William Dale  
 Army, Louis Wayne, III  
 Bailey, Carlyle K.  
 Bailey, Gerald Melvin  
 Barrett, Edward Louis, Jr.  
 Batchellor, John Kenneth, Jr.  
 Bates, Ollie Burton, III  
 Beaudry, Frederick Howard  
 Benner, Francis Joseph  
 Benson, Michael John  
 Berner, Kenneth Charles  
 Beshore, Charles Stephen  
 Bewick, James Stephenson  
 Blood, Kenneth Lee  
 Boyle, Louis Edwin  
 Brown, Lawrence Owen  
 Bruce, Robert S.  
 Buehrer, Charles F.  
 Bullard, Walter M.  
 Burton, Michael Coakley  
 Butler, Samuel Bowman  
 Cann, John Pearce, III  
 Carlson, Gary Lee  
 Caspero, John Francis, Jr.  
 Chamberlain, Larry Dean  
 Chapman, Donald Ray  
 Chastain, Jeffrey Michael  
 Clow, Gordon Henry  
 Coffey, Thomas Edward  
 Coleman, Walter Stuart  
 Collins, Joseph Stanislaus  
 Colvett, John Howard  
 Connel, Allan Archibald, III  
 Conti, Rodney Reid  
 Cooper, John Byrne, Jr.  
 Couch, Dale Myles  
 Coughlin, Joseph Albert, Jr.  
 Crisp, Howard Leon  
 Crow, Lewis Nelson  
 Cutter, Douglas Boyd  
 Daley, Paul Patrick  
 Dambaugh, John Arthur  
 Deforth, Peter Wallace  
 Detrick, Ernest Miller, II  
 Devoe, Carlyle James  
 DeWolff, Maurice Konrad  
 Dobbs, William David  
 Dodge, Henry T.  
 Donaghy, Francis Donald  
 Donahoe, David Francis  
 Donahue, James William  
 Dougherty, Charles Wilbur  
 Douglas, Lawrence Henry  
 Duffy, Denis Charles Jr.  
 Dyer, Charles Arnold  
 Eatman, George Thomas  
 Edge, Jacob, II  
 Emerson, John Michael  
 Erickson, James Edward  
 Erickson, Richard Paul  
 Eittel, Edward Emil, III  
 Fabre, Frank Joseph, Jr.  
 Fagan, William Ambrose, Jr.  
 Flint, William Kinmont  
 Florimonte, Thomas S.  
 Foerster, Bruce Somerndike  
 Foster, Charles Wesley, III  
 Foster, James William  
 Foster, Vincent Edward  
 Fredrickson, Robert Barker  
 Gadeken, Arlan Duane

Gallagher, Charles Joseph, Jr.  
 Gamboa, Jose Carlos  
 Gareffa, Joseph John  
 Gates, Charles Robert  
 Geehr, John Edward  
 Georgius, David Russell  
 Gerard, Maurice William  
 Giovinazzi, Felix Anthony  
 Gohstand, Robert  
 Gosse, Clinton Gessner  
 Goudy, Ronald Carl  
 Graham, Charles Rogers  
 Graves, Kenneth Ernest  
 Green, George Leblanc  
 Green, John Montgomery  
 Greenwood, Jeffrey George  
 Griffith, Larry Lamar  
 Hammond, Michael Moran  
 Harder, Henry Louis  
 Harding, Theodore Peter  
 Harper, Robert Lawrence  
 Harrington, Robert Leonard  
 Harris, Carroll Nelson, Jr.  
 Harris, David Albert, Sr.  
 Harris, Jerry Lynn  
 Harris, Larry Clarenc  
 Harris, Murray Stevens  
 Harris, William Arthur  
 Haslup, Charles Leroy, III  
 Hauff, Richard Anthony  
 Heim, David Leo  
 Hendricks, James Turpin  
 Herbert, William George  
 Hester, Gerald George  
 Hiddleson, Don Eugene  
 Hille, Howard Brand  
 Hobbs, William Homer  
 Hoff, Kenneth Lincoln, Jr.  
 Hollett, Grant Thomas, Jr.  
 Hollister, Wayne Edmund  
 Hooper, Robert Moore  
 Horan, James Joseph  
 Horn, Dennis Lee  
 Horton, Douglas James  
 Houk, Thomas Leroy, Jr.  
 Hughes, Arthur Charles  
 Humphries, Charles Shore  
 Hunt, James Vaughn  
 Jeffords, Douglass Corcoran  
 Jenkins, Tim McCall  
 Jobe, Jerry Lynn  
 Johnson, David Kent  
 Johnson, Leonard E., Jr.  
 Johnson, Philip Homer  
 Johnson, Weston Macleod, III  
 Keasler, Warren Kent  
 Keeney, Malcolm Shermer  
 Keltner, Jerry Martin  
 King, Kenneth Pierce, Jr.  
 Klaas, John Earl  
 Kline, Russell Leonard  
 Koch, Robert Curtis  
 Kolgen, Peter James  
 Kost, John Gregory  
 Krauss, Gary Andrews  
 Kristiansen, Walter Konrad  
 Kuhl, Russell W.  
 Lambert, Ray B., Jr.  
 Lange, Walden Alfred  
 Lapierre, Valmore Michel  
 Lawrence, Gerald Samuel  
 Levicki, John Sullivan  
 Linquist, John E.  
 Lipscomb, David  
 Lizer, Darryl Merwin  
 Long, William K.  
 Lopezcepero, Henry  
 Lorentzen, Gary Carl  
 Lowes, Glenn Stewart  
 Maddock, George Albert  
 Mall, Phillip Joseph  
 Man, Robert Martin, Jr.  
 Markowicz, John Charles  
 Marsh, Charles Lee, Jr.  
 Marshall, John Stevenson



Maruszewski, Richard F., Jr.  
 Mathews, William M., Jr.  
 Matsunaga, Jerry Tadashi  
 McGinnis, Dennis Robert  
 McGuire, Jeremiah James  
 McIntyre, Richard Thomas  
 McLendon, Dana Crosland, Jr.  
 McMorrow, Martin John Kalani  
 McPartlin, Raymond Peter  
 Mealey, Thomas Henry, Jr.  
 McCleary, Read Blaine  
 Meeker, Ronald Keith  
 Mickelson, Charles Alan  
 Miller, John Kellett  
 Milliken, Jeffrey Allan  
 Mirkovich, Joseph Nicholas  
 Mitchell, Michael George, Jr.  
 Mitchell, Reginald P., Jr.  
 Moeller, Roy Paul  
 Moore, James Glenn, III  
 Moore, Rueben Earl, Jr.  
 Moore, Wilmot Henry  
 Morgan, Larry Francis  
 Morrill, James Preston  
 Morris, Robert Henry  
 Morrison, Hugh Edward  
 Mungan, Gerald Bernard  
 Murphree, Edwin Key  
 Neiner, Bruce Ray  
 Nelson, Noel Edward  
 Newton, Morris Douglas, Jr.  
 Nicholas, Douglas Russell  
 Nielsen, Frances Carson  
 Nielsen, Robert Gordon  
 Nixon, John Richard  
 Nolan, James Stuart  
 Norrell, Robert Frank  
 Nugent, Thomas Harold  
 Nunn, Paul Geoffrey  
 Odell, Jack Denton, Jr.  
 O'Hanlon, James Patrick  
 O'Hara, Ramon Darrell  
 Orr, Charles Wesley, Jr.  
 Ortlieb, Alfred Anthony  
 Owens, Edward Harrison, Jr.  
 Page, Charles E.  
 Palmer, Richard Lee  
 Parker, Robert C.  
 Parks, Gary Lee  
 Perlingiero, Clara Antonia  
 Peterson, Douglas Dale  
 Pettigrew, Kenneth William  
 Phelps, Edwin Rice, III  
 Polich, Robert  
 Poust, Roy Newton  
 Prendergast, Finis Homer, Jr.  
 Quale, Gareth Denby  
 Quinn, Robert Patrick  
 Rakowski, William Julius  
 Ratliff, James Roy  
 Reed, William Carroll  
 Reggiani, David Joseph  
 Richards, Donald Kenney  
 Richardson, Frederick Martin  
 Riley, John Turner  
 Rio, Manuel, Jr.  
 Rivers, Jere Watson  
 Rodriguez, Ramon  
 Rozic, Joseph Thomas  
 Ryan, James Paul  
 Saiki, Kenneth Takao  
 Salemi, Anthony John  
 Sarnie, Robert Walter  
 Savage, Donald Wayne  
 Scanlon, Jerome Bradley  
 Schroeder, Kurt Cleveland  
 Schult, Richard William  
 Schultz, Henry Francis  
 Scott, Thomas Fletcher, Jr.  
 Sedor, Stephen Michael, Jr.  
 Sexsmith, Gerald Thomas  
 Sexton, Charles Edmund  
 Shardy, James Eugene  
 Simmons, Charles Henry

Sites, Bruce Lee  
 Sitten, Luther Fred  
 Sjostrom, John Erik  
 Slovacek, Richard Edwin  
 Smith, Alan Brewster  
 Smith, Bradford Donald  
 Smith, John William  
 Smith, Michael Raymond  
 Smith, Richard Cole  
 Smith, Ronald Edwin  
 Spence, Charles Hudgins, Jr.  
 Spencer, Gerald Leyton  
 Stabile, Robert Anthony  
 Stanley, Jones Harrison  
 Stein, Thomas Forrest  
 Sternberg, Daniel Myer  
 Steudel, Edward Martin, Jr.  
 Stewart, John Russell  
 Stoddard, Richard Cleveland  
 Stone, Charles Edwin, Jr.  
 Strandberg, Josiah Robert W.  
 Strickland, Thomas Horton  
 Sudol, Walter Edward  
 Swartz, Thomas John  
 Swenningson, Aaron Paul  
 Szarleta, Melvin Anthony  
 Talbot, John Henry, Jr.  
 Taulli, Frank Roger  
 Taylor, Gary Windsor  
 Tetrault, Roger Ernest  
 Thompson, Guy Bryan  
 Thur, James Aubert  
 Tinker, Malcolm Hoagland, Jr.  
 Tkach, George Kenneth, III  
 Tollison, Alfred Clyde, Jr.  
 Toncray, George Williams, III  
 Torres, James Dade  
 Traut, Arthur John  
 Troidle, Thomas Noel  
 Turner, James Edward, Jr.  
 Turpin, Anthony Alexander  
 Turpin, Robert  
 Vonderlinden, Arthur F., Jr.  
 Wade, Shelba Henry, Jr.  
 Wallach, John Sidney  
 Walsh, Bernard  
 Walton, John William, III  
 Ward, Michael William  
 Waskom, John Bascom, IV  
 Wass, Leonard Robert  
 Watts, Robert Francis, Jr.  
 Wessman, Richard Harold  
 Westerfield, John Henry, Jr.  
 Whitmore, Michael Keith  
 Whittleton, Thomas Robert  
 Williams, David A.  
 Williams, Robert Steven  
 Wojcik, Walter John  
 Woods, Ronald Joe  
 Wright, Frederick Marshall  
 Wright, John Swindell, Jr.  
 Yeatts, Gary Claude  
 Young, Brian Austin  
 Zech, Gary George  
 Zetterberg, Forrest Larry  
 Zondorak, Charles Joseph, Jr.  
 Zupko, George Michael

## UNRESTRICTED LINE OFFICERS (TAR)

*To be captain*

Ailor, Ronald Garth  
 Bennett, Barry Ellis  
 Cutillo, Richard Thomas  
 Dooley, Roy L.  
 Dowdy, James W.  
 Fairbanks, Willie B.  
 Fitzgerald, William E., III  
 Glad, Howard Elliott  
 Harness, Francis W.  
 Harrington, James Joseph  
 Haushalter, William Henry  
 Heath, Jeffrey Myron  
 Hilliard, Robert M., III  
 Karlsson, Carl Richard  
 Kauffman, Daniel George

Kohler, David Clark  
 Leary, Robert Anthony  
 Lewis, Maxwell L.  
 Manderfield, Leonard L.  
 McCluskey, Kenneth Andrew  
 Messner, Hugh F.  
 McLencop, Gerald Holt  
 Murphy, Paul V.  
 Murray, Michael Alan  
 Parker, William Thomas, Jr.  
 Pate, James Wilson, Jr.  
 Silah, Robert Joseph  
 Siren, William H.  
 Stewart, James Lee  
 Stout, Floyd Taylor, Jr.  
 Stucki, John Howard  
 Young, Gary William

## ENGINEERING DUTY OFFICERS

*To be captain*

Chapman, Paul William  
 Denning, Richard Grayson  
 Gabala, James A.  
 Krivan, William Robert  
 Levy, Ivan Marshall  
 Luethy, Walter Ernest  
 McPherson, Luther F., III  
 Murray, Robert Hendon  
 Novak, Stuart Michael  
 Resor, Joseph D.  
 Sartori, Howard Joseph  
 Scott, Gerald Wayne  
 Spurgeon, Dennis Ray  
 Vanduzer, Roger Elliott  
 Varel, Constantine  
 Warnes, Philip George  
 Warwick, James Curtis

AERONAUTICAL ENGINEERING DUTY OFFICERS  
(AERONAUTICAL ENGINEERING)*To be captain*

Bauer, Kenneth Hugh  
 Bencze, Daniel Peter  
 Manning, Kenneth Paul

AERONAUTICAL ENGINEERING DUTY OFFICERS  
(AVIATION MAINTENANCE)*To be captain*

Long, James Thomas  
 Simmons, Joseph Lamar

## SPECIAL DUTY OFFICERS (CRYPTOLOGY)

*To be captain*

Bilbrey, Robert Reid, Sr.  
 Butler, Theodore Harvey  
 Carroll, Michael Anthony  
 Johnson, William Robert, II  
 Lytikainen, Robert Carl  
 Mutton, James Orval  
 Nugent, Daniel Andrews  
 Satin, Joel Lewis  
 Weidman, Robert Hulburt, Jr.

## SPECIAL DUTY OFFICERS (INTELLIGENCE)

*To be captain*

Alexander, Robert Cheston, Jr.  
 Alley, James Austin  
 Atcheson, Raymond William  
 Baumgardner, Hugh Wirth  
 Boerbon, Floyd Wallace  
 Bott, John Ferguson  
 Campbell, Cromwell B.  
 Carpenter, William S.  
 Carroll, Johnny Dean  
 Celebrezze, Anthony J., Jr.  
 Coughlen, Thomas David  
 Davies, John Glenn  
 Donato, Brian John  
 Fantauzza, Charles Benjamin  
 Floto, Peter Christian  
 Fournier, Maurice Andrew  
 Gallagher, Thomas Vincent  
 Gilmore, Charles Philip  
 Gin, Steven  
 Gradick, Herman William I., Jr.

Grant, David Reginald  
 Grant, Frederick Eugene  
 Heacock, Gerald Stephen  
 Hibbits, John Gordon  
 Howatt, Franklyn James  
 Kane, Byron Lyle  
 Lambden, William Jon  
 Lawrence, David Wilson  
 Locke, Richard Evan  
 Lohman, John William  
 Loose, Ronald Russell  
 Malicki, William Joseph  
 Mattingly, William Herbert  
 McMahan, Paul Douglas  
 Mingle, Clifford Edward  
 O'Donnell, Thomas Edmund  
 Parsons, William Duval  
 Perry, David Charles  
 Prentice, Warren Lonsdale  
 Pyle, Howard, III  
 Ranalli, Michael Patrick  
 Rudolph, Walter Paul, Jr.  
 Salley, Leonard Bennett  
 Schuhle, John Eric  
 Scott, Glenn Allen  
 Sensoli, Joseph Albert  
 Shafer, Elwood Lewis, Jr.  
 Shepard, Donald Woodworth  
 Taylor, Sherry A. Hagerman  
 Tulloch, Hugh Bockhammer  
 Walsh, Owen Barrie  
 Webb, Bert James  
 White, Anthony Edward  
 Wiens, Jerry Allen  
 Williams, James Lewis  
 York, Robert Edwin  
 Young, Franklin Alden, Jr.  
 Zwingle, Carvel Lwoods

## SPECIAL DUTY OFFICERS INTELLIGENCE (TAR)

## To be captain

Entas, Leon James  
 Zickafoose, David Ralph

## SPECIAL DUTY OFFICERS (PUBLIC AFFAIRS)

## To be captain

Cartwright, John Galen  
 Durfer, Edwin Richard  
 Frederick, John Charles  
 Gartland, John Charles  
 Graves, Roy Danner  
 Kenny, Michael Francis, Jr.  
 Lambdin, Phillip Eugene  
 Lashley, James Edwin  
 Moynihan, Daniel Joseph, Jr.  
 Niles, Wendell Edward, Jr.  
 O'Brien, Richard Paul  
 Pitzer, Everett Scott  
 Tomek, George Warren, Jr.  
 Woodward, George Phelps, Jr.

## SPECIAL DUTY OFFICERS (GEOPHYSICS)

## To be captain

Clark, Tony Franklin  
 Grayson, Thomas Hilary

## IN THE NAVY

The following-named Naval Reserve officers to be appointed permanent ensign in the line or staff corps of the U.S. Navy, pursuant to title 10, United States Code, section 531:

Anderson, Richard P.	Mallette, James R.
Babin, Erica D.	McCole, George C., Jr.
Bauke, Gregory P.	
Borkland, Dennis W.	Redden, Mark E.
Carlisle, Holly L.	Robbins, Martin J.
Copp, Dennis W.	Sanchez, Guy R.
Fries, Charles A.	Vanderkamp, Martha M.
Ginn, Lelon L.	
Halter, Rondal J.	Williams, Richard N.
Herrington, John B.	Westberg, Steven J.
Kuehn, Robert B.	

Thomas A. Lemonds, Navy enlisted candidate, to be appointed permanent chief war-

rant officer, W-2, in the U.S. Navy, pursuant to title 10, United States Code, section 555.

Thomas R. Miller, lieutenant, U.S. Navy, retired, to be reappointed permanent lieutenant from the Temporary Disability Retired List, pursuant to title 10, United States Code, section 1211.

Edward N. Ehrlich, ex-Naval Reserve officer, to be appointed permanent commander in the Medical Corps of the U.S. Naval Reserve, pursuant to title 10, United States Code, section 593.

The following-named U.S. Navy officers to be appointed permanent commander in the Medical Corps of the U.S. Naval Reserve, pursuant to title 10, United States Code, section 593:

Liston, Steven E.      Sunder, Theodore R.

Charles V. Gordon, commander, U.S. Navy, to be appointed permanent commander in the Medical Service Corps of the U.S. Naval Reserve, pursuant to title 10, United States Code, section 593.

## IN THE MARINE CORPS

The following-named U.S. Naval Academy graduates for permanent appointment to the grade of second lieutenant in the U.S. Marine Corps, pursuant to title 10, United States Code, section 531:

Adams, Daniel J., XXXX  
 Adamus, Daniel E., XX  
 Aguilar, Tomas J., XX  
 Alberto, Glen, XX  
 Alicea, Pedro R., XX  
 Allen, Scott A., XX  
 Andrews, Jeffrey A., XXXX  
 Astrup, Kevin J., XX  
 Augustine, John M., XX  
 Aumuller, David F., XXXX  
 Baker, Beverly M., XX  
 Baker, Miles C., XX  
 Baker, Rosser O., XX  
 Baker, Thomas W., XX  
 Barr, Paul V., XX  
 Becker, Max A., XX  
 Bigelow, Andrew D., XX  
 Birdsong, Timothy F., XX  
 Blue, William D., XX  
 Booth, David A., XX  
 Briggs, Tod P., XX  
 Brown, Conrad N., XX  
 Bruner, Turney A., XX  
 Busmire, Terence E., XXXX  
 Cable, John D., XX  
 Campbell, Lundy J., XX  
 Campbell, William K., XX  
 Carradini, George S., XX  
 Chimiak, Mark W., XX  
 Cochran, Paul R., XX  
 Collins, Edward L., XX  
 Conklin, Jeffery A., XX  
 Cooper, David O., XX  
 Czechowski, Richard B., XX  
 Deleon, Carlos E., XXXX  
 Derald, James G., XX  
 Desens, Mark J., XX  
 Dinicolo, Gina M., XX  
 Ditton, David A., XX  
 Dixon, Kurt L., XX  
 Donnelly, Charles R., XX  
 Doyle, William G., XX  
 Drummond, Brad C., XX  
 Eaves, Kathy L., XX  
 Everill, Kenneth A., XX  
 Fairley, Maurice A., XX  
 Faucher, William J., XX  
 Fegan, Frederick M., XX  
 Flippinger, Eric K., XXXX  
 Fisher, Thomas E., XX  
 Fortune, Idean J., XX  
 Foster, James T., XX  
 Frey, Gary R., XXXX

Gallagher, Thomas W., XX  
 Garcia, Manuel, XXXX  
 Gattuso, Douglas J., XX  
 Gehan, Thomas K., XX  
 Gerhardt, Michael D., XX  
 Goff, Jan T., XX  
 Gonzalez, Robert, Jr., XX  
 Graves, Jay P., XX  
 Gurbach, Glenn D., XX  
 Hacker, Rudolph E., XX  
 Haddad, Richard E., XX  
 Hamm, James J., XXXX  
 Harber, Jonathan D., XX  
 Harrison, William M., XX  
 Hartman, Jonathan E., XXXX  
 Heaphy, Mark P., XX  
 Herlong, George H., XX  
 Hile, Michael K., XX  
 Hinen, James W., XX  
 Hobough, Charles O., XXXX  
 Hogan, Patrick R., XX  
 Holtkamp, Louis M., XX  
 Horn, Thomas W., XX  
 Howard, Kevin T., XXXX  
 Intoy, Bienvenido P., XXXX  
 Ivan, Thomas R., XX  
 Johns, Michael F., XX  
 Jones, Thomas M., XX  
 Kircher, Konrad, XX  
 Kizsee, Carlos P., XX  
 Knapper, Roger K., XX  
 Kocher, Bruce D., XX  
 Krueger, Bernard J., XX  
 Lenda, John D., XX  
 Lindsay, Charles T., XX  
 Litton, Andrew C., XX  
 Luke, Thomas C., XX  
 Lyons, Mark R., XX  
 Marnane, Thomas C., XX  
 Marr, Douglas C., XX  
 Martin, Bradford L., XX  
 Matteo, Michael D., XX  
 McCann, Mark W., XX  
 McCarthy, Edward C., XX  
 McClary, David B., XX  
 McGaugh, Steven L., XX  
 McGregor, James A., XX  
 McKelvey, Matthew J., XX  
 McKinney, Billy L., XX  
 Miller, Nathan H., XX  
 Mize, Ralph D., XX  
 Monahan, Kevin J., XX  
 Mortensen, Thomas C., XX  
 Mueller, Michael D., XX  
 Mullen, Michael D., XX  
 Murray, Glenn A., XX  
 Murray, Joseph B., XX  
 Murray, Michael J., XX  
 Murtha, Brian C., XX  
 Nelson, Scott K., XX  
 Nichols, Alan R., XX  
 Nicoson, Daniel R., XX  
 O'Connell, William M., XX  
 Olivier, Patrick D., XX  
 Pagano, James J., XXXX  
 Pagel, Rick A., XX  
 Paulson, William A., XX  
 Pease, Gregory W., XXXX  
 Peters, Gerald A., XXXX  
 Pettitt, David G., XX  
 Petrosino, Frank M., XX  
 Pfeiffer, Sharon E., XX  
 Pitpit, Michael C., XX  
 Poindexter, Scott H., XX  
 Ratcliff, Blake D., XX  
 Ridder, Samuel M., XX  
 Ringel, Jeffrey T., XX  
 Romero, Glenn R., XX  
 Rosa, Ivan R., XX  
 Rowsey, Robert R., XXXX  
 Ryan, Leslie R., XX  
 Schleicher, Donald H., XX  
 Shepherd, Michael A., XX  
 Shibe, Robert B., XX



Shupinski, Douglas F., XX...  
 Sichler, Robert A., XX...  
 Spearing, Scott S., XX...  
 Stephens, William H., XX...  
 Stolarski, Mark A., XX...  
 Stolley, Brian K., XX...  
 Stuart, Allan J., XX...  
 Stys, Mark V., XX...  
 Sullivan, Sean M., XX...  
 Summerfield, Harry M., XX...  
 Suriano, Douglas A., XX...  
 Talamantes, Clarence S., XX...  
 Taylor, James, XX...  
 Thomas, Douglas P., XX...  
 Vermaat, Maarten, XX...  
 Wach, Raymond P., XX...  
 Wagoner, Keith L., XX...  
 Walton, Terrance B., XX...  
 Ward, Harry P., XX...  
 Weber, Jeffrey, J., XX...  
 Weistroffer, Joseph K., XX...  
 Wiggins, John W., XX...  
 Wilcox, John B., XX...  
 Wilhelm, James W., XX...  
 Williamson, Timothy L., XXXX  
 Wix, Roseann L., XX...  
 Wrzeszcz, Branch O., XX...  
 Yu, Michael D., XX...  
 Zamka, George D., XX...

## IN THE COAST GUARD

The following Reserve officers of the United States Coast Guard to be permanent commissioned officers in the grades indicated:

## To be lieutenant commander

Rodney E. Smith Paul H. Garrity  
 George A. Flanigan Robert M. Acker, Jr.

## To be lieutenant

James J. Vallone Walter J. Brawand  
 Francis L. Shelley III III  
 Douglas R. Carlson Thomas M. Self  
 David G. Michalski Steven D. Hardy  
 Patrick T. Keane Scott S. Way

## To be lieutenant (junior grade)

Patrick L. Donahue, James X. Monaghan  
 Jr. Roy P. Williams III  
 Guy A. Tetreau Steve M. Sawyer  
 Stephen P. Garrity Bruce J. Mayes  
 Rhae A. Giacomini Darrell C. Folsom  
 Charles W. Kaiser Thomas A. Bailey  
 William D. Plunkett Francis R. Southcott,  
 Lawrence M. Fontana Jr.  
 Michael T. Covey Larry D. Cheek  
 George Gill Arne O. Denny  
 Paul D. Jewell William J. Uberti  
 Earle G. Thomas IV William W.  
 Danny R. Williamson Thompson  
 Victor L. Tyber Christopher C.  
 Jack V. Rutz Colvin  
 Michael F. Moriarty Craig H. Allen

Executive nominations received by the Secretary of the Senate April 23, 1984, under authority of the order of the Senate of April 13, 1984:

## DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Michael Hayden Armacost, of Maryland, a career member of the Senior Foreign Serv-

ice, class of Minister-Counselor, to be Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, vice Lawrence S. Eagleburger, resigned.

## DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Harold Peter Goldfield, of New York, to be an Assistant Secretary of Commerce, vice Richard L. McElheny, resigned.

## CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate April 24, 1984:

## COPYRIGHT ROYALTY TRIBUNAL

Mario F. Aguero, of New York, to be a Commissioner of the Copyright Royalty Tribunal for the unexpired term of 7 years from September 27, 1977.

## DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Daniel Raul Lopez, of California, to be a Commissioner of the U.S. Parole Commission for a term of 6 years.

## THE JUDICIARY

Edward Leavy, of Oregon, to be U.S. district judge for the district of Oregon.

William D. Browning, of Arizona, to be U.S. district judge for the district of Arizona.

Joseph J. Longobardi, of Delaware, to be U.S. district judge for the district of Delaware.

Terrence W. Boyle, of North Carolina, to be U.S. district judge for the eastern district of North Carolina.